Funerary Monuments and the Construction of Commemorative Landscapes in Mid-Nineteenth Century Britain.

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Declaration.

I, Matilda Duncker confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

Signed:

Date:

Abstract.

This thesis is based on the comparative study of commemorative practices in five cemeteries established between 1832 and 1846 (Bath Abbey Cemetery, Glasgow Necropolis, Key Hill Cemetery, and Southampton Old Cemetery). The survey of selected monument types is combined with archive and census data to investigate a range of questions centred on the interaction between those erecting monuments and the emergent commemorative landscapes they helped to construct. The statistical analysis and discussion of the collected data is structured around key themes including the inscription of religious difference into commemorative landscapes, the mutability of monument typologies as units of significance, and the development of site-specific patterns of monument use and association. Over 1000 monuments were surveyed as part of this project, providing a broad comparative basis from which it is argued that the variation characteristic of early cemeteries (in terms of organisation, scale, and design) was matched by variation in the commemorative practices they came to contain.

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Acknowledgements.

I would like to thank my supervisors, Professor Jeremy Tanner and Professor David Wengrow, for their support, insight, and enthusiasm over the last four years. I would also like to thank the Friends of Southampton Old Cemetery, and especially Geoff Watts, for his kind help in accessing the Friends' unofficial archive. I am likewise indebted to the Friends of Kensal Green Cemetery and specifically Barry Smith, who was very patient with me when I was first starting this project. Finally, I would like to thank my partner and family for their tolerance of my death-related chat and their unceasing practical and emotional support.

Chapter 1 Scope and Contribution.

Introduction

This study is concerned with the choices made by approximately 1000 families between 1832 and 1870 about how they would commemorate their lost members. Not all of these were sanguineous families, as a small number were bound by bonds other than blood, but all of the monuments included here are responses to the disruption of affective ties. The sampled monuments were erected in five cemeteries: Bath Abbey Cemetery in Bath; the Glasgow Necropolis; Kensal Green in London; Key Hill Cemetery in Birmingham; and Southampton Cemetery, all of which were established between 1832 and 1846. Monument survey and documentary evidence are used in combination to establish a detailed picture of the commemorative practices undertaken at each site, focusing on the use of three main monument types: obelisks, urns, and Gothic crosses.

This is a broadly comparative project, aimed at exploring the diversity of mid-19th century commemorative practice rather than at defining any overarching explicatory scheme for these materials and spaces. Two of the central concerns are how different groups used monument forms, and to what extent different forms may be considered as having had distinct significances or associations in particular settings. A surprising diversity in practice is identified. Distinct patterns of monument use are identified at several sites, including the usage of obelisks in the commemoration of wives and military families in Bath Abbey Cemetery, the extra-familial commemoration of maritime engineers in Southampton Cemetery, and the commemoration of ministers by their congregations in the Glasgow Necropolis.

In contrast to some previous studies, this project places particular emphasis on the practices through which these distinctive sets of commemorative patterns and associations might have developed, and especially on the interaction of monument erectors with the emergent commemorative landscape. Archival material relating to monumental masons based in Glasgow and Southampton is also used to help delineate the processes through which monuments like those surveyed in the project would have been chosen and purchased.

Religious differences are also considered and the comparison of the four English sites suggests that there are no straightforward generalisations to be made regarding the commemorative preferences of Anglicans and Nonconformists. The potential influence of the religious topography of different cemetery landscapes on the development of denominationally distinct commemorative preferences is explored, as is the influence of contemporary debates around religion and architecture.

These discussions are framed by four central theoretical concerns which are outlined in chapter two: style, consumption, emotion, and landscape. Much archaeological work is predicated to some extent on the use of style as an analytical category and the implications of this are unpacked, along with the importance of style as a subject of debate in the 19th century. A significant portion of extant work on this material dwells on its expense and elaboration, and the concept of consumption is explored, not to endorse this emphasis, but as a means of bracketing the economic value of this material in order to consider its central role within the commemorative process. This process is made meaningful, to a large extent, by its emotional implications and the emotional framework within which the subsequent analysis envisages commemoration as being undertaken is therefore laid out. Finally, landscapes and their status as palimpsests are discussed as key to understanding the settings within which people learned how to undertake commemoration and within which the associations and meanings of different monument forms developed.

This outlining of the theoretical framework is followed by a chapter discussing the historical and social context of the material, before the methodology of the project is described in chapter four. These are followed by three chapters of analysis, in which the five sites and the samples taken there are introduced and compared.

One further note is necessary. Commemorative landscapes are at once explicitly public and deeply private spaces, and while this project does not reveal any information beyond the scope of the public record, it is predicated on the loss of many friends and relations. It is hoped that an awareness of this is maintained by both author and reader throughout the following discussion.

The field

This is hardly the first study of 19th-century commemorative architecture and practice. A wave of interest in this material swelled from the middle 1960s onwards, producing works not only by archaeologists (Dethlefsen and Deetz 1966; Parker Pearson 1982; Brooks 1989), but by art historians (Curl 1972), historians (Ariès 1974), and those studying English literature (Morley 1971). Related studies had been undertaken before this, one of the most prescient being Harriette Forbes' (1927) work on New England headstones in the 17th and 18th centuries. Forbes treated the monuments of ordinary families as a valuable resource in the study of the beliefs and practices at a time when interest in commemorative material was mostly restricted to the socially or artistically extraordinary. Indeed, her exhortation – nearly half a century before Baxandall (1972) published his work on the 'period eye' – to attempt to view this material "with the eyes of the past" (1927:113) and appreciate its "sincerity" rather than seeing it as "grotesque or even quaint" (ibid), is advice that some of the subsequent works on commemorative architecture would have done well to follow, and which this study attempts to honour.

Indeed, in the first set of significant works on 19th-century commemorative practices, no great weight was given to the 'sincerity' of these materials in terms of their importance as elements within emotionally charged mourning and commemoration practices. Rugg (2013:8) argues compellingly that the historiography of 19th-century commemoration has been dominated by the preoccupations of academia in the 1970s and 1980s, when the first seminal studies of this material were published. Rugg (ibid) particularly singles out Morley (1971), Curl (1972), and Brooks (1989) as responsible for reinforcing the nascent tropes and stereotypes of this field; working on a broad canvas, whilst simultaneously focussing myopically on elite material culture and conspicuous consumption, and interpreting commemorative landscapes and practices so much in terms of their ideological weight that any consideration of their emotional 'sincerity' was, at best, presented as an aside, and at worst, mocked (Rugg 2013:8-9). Little room was left for questions of local variation, and despite the 1970s and 1980s being a period in which concern with agency was becoming paramount, the mourners presented in these studies tended to appear as little more than single-minded status-driven automatons (for example Cannon 1989).

Few areas of study within archaeology were left out of the extended discussions that went on during this period over the definition of, and interplay between, ideology and power. However, the centrality of these concerns to studies of 19th-century commemoration has sometimes been difficult to shake off, making it difficult to ask new questions of this material without repeatedly reducing its significance to self-presentation, hegemonic ideologies, and the deployment of money and taste in the pursuit of status (see the progression in Cannon's work into the new millennium [2005]). This is, as Rugg argues, partly the result of the prevalent theoretical concerns of the period during which the first seminal works were written, but it is also partly a consequence of the character of the material itself. The data provided by a memorial assemblage is undeniably well suited to those interested in the interplay between status, taste, and economic clout; it is not often that such fine-grained social and chronological data is found in direct association with stylistically and economically variable material culture displayed within a permanent public setting. On top of this, the received wisdom regarding the ethos of the 19th century has tended (and still tends) to emphasise a middle-class obsession with attaining and maintaining respectability under the panoptical gaze of the peer (e.g. Stone 1977:678; Davidoff *et al* 1999:124), and the centrality of economic and cultural capital to the success of this (for example Morley 1971:11; Richardson 1989:106; Cannon 2005). Furthermore, to 20th-century eyes accustomed to the construction of grief as something to be dealt with unobtrusively and moved through, rather than dwelt upon (Stroebe *et al* 1992; Stearns and Knapp 1996; Walter 2007) the explosion of commemorative materials in the 19th century, from monuments to mourning jewellery, appeared to require some *other* explanation, above and beyond its ostensible use in mourning. It is hardly surprising that this confluence of factors resulted in the frequent elision of commemoration with status-oriented display and the prioritisation of grand questions of ideology and power (variously conceived) over more prosaic concerns for the uses of these monuments as foci for mourning and the commemorative practices into which they were woven.

Subsequent correctives to these tendencies have come in a variety of forms, but two themes have been key. Firstly, the specificity and emotional weight of commemorative practice has increasingly been recognised as necessarily central to any analysis of this material. Secondly (in accord with developments in post-modern academia more generally), emphasis has increasingly been on 'micro studies' which often highlight areas of continuity rather than large-scale change (Rugg 2014:645), or draw attention to local variation from more broadly drawn narratives. The most frequently referenced and influential study to demonstrate the potential of these approaches, and especially the value of explicit consideration of emotion in commemorative contexts, is Sarah Tarlow's (1999a) work on 18th and 19th-century burials in the Orkneys. This study, and an article published the following year (Tarlow 2000), made it clear that failing to openly study emotion in commemorative contexts (and archaeology more generally) is a significant oversight and entails the risk of either not crediting past actors with a recognisably human agency, or of projecting unexamined and possibly inappropriate emotional models onto their behaviours (ibid:718). Tarlow's work also re-framed, for archaeological use, debates that had been growing amongst anthropologists, psychologists, and historians over the previous 15 years about the construction (or not) of emotions (e.g. Harré and Finlay-Jones 1986; Abu-Lughod and Lutz 1990; Stearns 1993; Leavitt 1996; Readdy 1997) and raised the possibility that archaeological studies could contribute to these discourses.

Other scholars have also used tightly focused case studies to disrupt some of the totalising narratives into which this material has been woven, especially narratives focused predominantly on questions of hierarchical status and ideology. Mytum's (1994; 1999; 2002a) work on the intersection of religion, language, nationalism and memorial choice in Pembrokeshire in the 19th and 20th centuries has illustrated some of the other important and regionally specific ways in which commemorative material might have been made meaningful by its users. Likewise, Buckham's (2000: 305, 314, 2005:150) work on York

Cemetery has demonstrated that high-status individuals (defined occupationally) were not consistently commemorated with more elaborate or expensive stones and that their burials were most often marked with monument types similar to those used by members of less financially rewarded occupational groups. In other words, financial and social status does not straightforwardly determine variation in the scale, elaboration, or style of memorial choice. Instead Buckham (2000: 340, 2005: 150) identified the desire to differentiate a stone from its immediate neighbours as a more pressing concern for monument erectors, and suggested that this might be a consequence of wishing to maintain through commemoration a sense of the individuality of the deceased and the unique relationship shared with them.

Rugg's (1998a, 2004) work, in contrast, has focused more on the settings of commemorative activity in the 19th century, and the organisational frameworks around these sites, than on the monuments themselves. Through detailed studies of early cemetery companies she has demonstrated the heterogeneity of this category of burial space, and more recently has begun to query the accepted dichotomy of cemetery and churchyard burial via studies of burial provision in North Yorkshire (Rugg 2013a) and Sheffield (Rugg *et al* 2014). She has also used a comparison of national legislation and site-specific practice to demonstrate the coexistence of two conflicting burial ideals during the 19th century, one pulling towards sanitary disposal, the other towards family unity (2013b). As a body of work, her studies demonstrate the weaknesses of generalising narratives regarding burial practices in this period.

This study

These are the works alongside which this study is intended to sit. It echoes some of their central concerns: with variation in practice; with the varied facets of identity articulated in commemoration; and with the interactions between these and the settings within which commemoration took place. It also shares with Tarlow's work the conviction that the salient feature of this material is its role in commemoration, and rejects the *a priori* assumption that hierarchical status maintenance or gain was the guiding force behind the selection of memorials. Rather, the selection of the monument is envisaged as a direct response to the encounter with death and loss, part of an extended set of memory practices undertaken around the dying and dead, practices which "operate to render present that which is absent" (Hallam and Hockey 2001:3). As Howard Williams (2005:5) asserted, it is no longer acceptable to use "burial data [to] discuss everything and anything – from migrations to cosmologies – but avoid dealing with death, dying and the dead".

One of the central aims here is to explore the role of formal and stylistic variation in commemorative practice and to examine the contexts in which it was actively used (or not used) by monument erectors to articulate particular identities associated with the deceased, the bereaved, or of the relationship between the two. There are, of course, caveats to this: commemoration is not simply a process of identity-marking, and to argue that it is would be to lose sight of its complex multivalence and to fall into the same trap as those ascribing the bulk of commemorative variation to the pursuit of status. Furthermore, a significant proportion of variation in any form of material culture "does not reduce to sociological categories or labels", but is "overdetermined" by a multiplicity of factors (Miller 2008:292). However, commemoration is, at base, an (often ongoing) marking of an absence with a presence, and necessarily involves some delineation of the absent subject, who may remain to some extent 'alive' in spite of their physical death (Hallam *et al* 1999). This must involve the sketching of some form of identity, whether in terms of occupation, geographical origin, religion, a name, initials, or the relationships that tied the deceased to the living. At times the form of the monument becomes part of this articulation. However, this usage is often not explored in discussions of commemorative practice and formal variation tends to be read either as the progression of fashion – interesting in its relationship to the classificatory marker of taste in Bourdieu (1984) type approaches – or in terms of specific symbolic meanings.

Often variation in monument forms, especially among the larger and more elaborate forms used in the 19th century, is glossed in terms of their symbolic meanings. The rationale for this is the widely held belief that the Victorian era was an "age that delighted in symbolic allusiveness, in the corporealisation of an idea" (Morley 1971:19). Consequently, symbolic meanings are often considered central to the usage of commemorative material, even though this symbolism can be presented in a variety of ways. In some instances the selection of one monument form or decorative scheme over another is attributed to its perceived symbolic fitness for a particular kind of death or dead person, for instance, the lily as a symbol of purity for a child's grave (Wilsher 1985:44), or a broken column for a life cut off in its prime (Mytum 2002a:219). In other cases the imputed symbolism of a form does little more than buttress its validity as a commemorative option, tying it to religious or contemplative themes, for instance, willow trees used in mourning art are described by Llewellyn (1991:99) as evocative of widows' weeds and symbolic of the Resurrection because of their impressive growth of new branches each year. Alternatively, the symbolic content is interpreted as a tool by which the living might achieve certain ends, such as associating themselves with desirable characteristics, or comforting themselves in their time of grief. For example, monument forms derived from Classical or archaeological contexts have been described as symbolising the "dignity and splendour of past civilisations" (Parker Pearson 1982:106), and allowing their users to appear as "inheritors of an ancient tradition, their deaths and bereavements transcending the mutable and the fashionable" (Tarlow 1999a:136).

The contention here is not that this material was symbolically void. Nor is it suggested that the specific symbolic meanings ascribed to these various designs are *wrong* per se, since they are often identifiable in contemporary commentary. For instance, in Blanchard's (1843) guide to Kensal Green cemetery broken columns are described in similar terms to those presented by Mytum, as indicative of a life "cut off where its ties were strongest, and the pride of health gave promise of length of days" (ibid:13). The question is, however, whether these variously described meanings were relevant to the usage of monuments, to the selection of one form over another, or the significances that a monument had for its erectors. Even in relation to those symbolic meanings that might directly affect the apparent appropriateness of a particular form for a particular burial, it is unusual to find scholarly effort expended on interrogating the extent to which the ascribed symbolism affected usage. For example, were broken columns, (apparently representative of life cut off in its prime) less frequently used in the commemoration of deaths in old age than other monument forms? The symbolic content, gleaned from the discourses of those in positions of authority (guidebook writers, architecture critics etc.) is frequently permitted to float freely, disconnected from the practices within which it is so centrally implicated, even in instances where it could be directly investigated.

This is not simply an oversight; it speaks to the expectation that such systems of signification are most profitably understood via textual evidence rather than through the material itself. The implication is that symbolic meanings are established *outside* the commemorative landscape, rather than within and through it, and that the engagement of monument users with these meanings can either be assumed, or cannot be assessed using the available material. In some instances, this latter possibility may be the case: symbolic associations that do not imply preferential use by any particular group or in any particular context cannot easily be assessed using patterns of monument use. Furthermore, a single feature might be connected with a range of meanings: the broken column is not only said to be a symbol of life cut short, but also to refer to the "ephemeral nature of earthly glory" (Rugg 1999: 207), and to the day of reckoning (Willsher 2005: 36), as well as being an indication that the deceased was "a supporter of the Craft" (a Freemason) (Curl 2011a:309). This apparent overdetermination makes it appear difficult to assess the relevance of any specific symbolic meaning to a particular instance of usage.

Bearing these potential restrictions in mind, the intention here is to reverse the trajectory of analysis, to start with the patterns of monument use themselves and work backwards seeking evidence that formal variation was used as signification in commemoration. This is why the use of monument forms in the articulation of identity is a central concern: working with the grain of the data, it is those stylistic elements that can be connected with some externally identifiable variable, in age, religion, occupation, or relationship, which will be most readily identifiable as being used within a system of signification**.** The aim, therefore, is to compare in detail the usage of formally distinct groups of monuments within a series of commemorative settings in order to explore the instances in which this kind of formal variation is, and is not, used in co-variance with different aspects of identity.

This makes it possible to explore the scale of these patterns of monument usage, to identify them as site-specific or larger-scale, and therefore to consider the practices and networks through which they developed. Some patterns may be localised to a single site, whereas others might be shared across many, and different factors could be involved in the development of patterns on these differing scales. Individuals choosing monuments did not act in a vacuum: they interacted with monumental masons, were guided and constrained by the regulations of the sites they used, and might have read guidebooks or have engaged with the architectural debates of the period through other publications. Furthermore, monument erectors' choices were necessarily undertaken within specific and emergent commemorative landscapes, landscapes that were in many respects a departure from those available to previous generations and which formed ever changing palimpsests for users to interact with and negotiate. Only by comparing practice between sites does it become possible to explore the varying relevance and interplay of these varying factors, both to broadly shared patterns and those that can be identified at only a single site.

In unpicking the different scales at which monument usage is and is not shared, the commemorative process is revealed as heterogeneous both within and between sites, not the result of a single process, or reducible to a single set of concerns. Rather than appearing as a passive vessel for the reiteration of an externally defined system of representations, the landscape becomes a constructive process, through which commemorative practice was created and not just recreated by monument erectors. This is a central point of focus in this study, the interaction between the burial site and its user-creators. The primary axis along which this is explored is the intersection between monument forms and the situated articulation of specific identities. It is acknowledged, however, that formal variation might be used in other ways by monument erectors, as Buckham (2000: 340, 2005: 150) found in York with the use of form as a means to *differentiate* each burial from those surrounding it rather than co-identify with them.

Furthermore, some of the ways in which monuments were used as a centrally important part of commemoration did not depend on formal variation at all, for example the renovation of monuments, the pre-purchasing of plots, and the commemoration of individuals not present. These form a secondary focus for this study and reinforce the impression that although this was a period in which monument types were becoming increasingly widely shared as a result of the professionalization of the monumental masonry industry, improving transportation of goods, and the sharing of pattern books, there persisted a strong degree of local variation in what it meant to undertake commemoration of the dead.

These aims can be summarised as four central research questions around which the project is structured:

- *What differences can be identified between monument groups in terms of the economic, occupational, and religious identities of their erectors, and the types of relationships that they were used to commemorate?*
- *Using these differences as a starting point, what associations and significances did monuments have for those erecting or encountering them?*
- *In comparing monument use at different sites, is it possible to differentiate between site-specific and larger-scale patterns of monument use and signification?*
- *Considering these patterns, is it possible to identify the processes and practices through which the monumental landscape was made meaningful for its constructors and users?*

Cemeteries

In methodological terms, the three defining parameters of this project are the monument forms selected for study, the locations selected for study, and the chronological boundaries of the sample. All three of these parameters are predicated on the development in the 19th century of what has generally been recognised as a new form of burial space: the cemetery (although contrast Rugg 1998a with 2013a).

Cemeteries can be defined broadly as burial grounds that are not affiliated with a place of worship, and within which the private sale of plots was available (this latter factor differentiating them from earlier unaffiliated burial grounds like Bunhill Fields in London). From about 1820 onwards an increasing number of cemeteries were opened by a variety of (mostly unrelated) agencies, and despite their marked heterogeneity these sites came to define a set of administrative and aesthetic parameters characteristic of the new form of burial setting. During the first half of the 1850s the patchwork of local provisions that had resulted in the opening of cemeteries thus far was stitched (via a series of Burial Acts) into a national framework intended to enable the achievement of similar ends in a more consistently organised and funded manner, heralding an increasing homogeneity amongst cemetery sites.

Cemeteries, and especially those opened before about 1850, have provided a rich seam for research and the significance of their emergence and structure has been interpreted in a variety of ways: they have been identified as microcosms of middle-class ideology (Brooks 1989:15); as a secular challenge to the authority of the Church (Herman 2010:307); and as hegemonic spaces defined either by 'modern' scientific values or oriented around a new concern for familial unity (see Rugg 2013b for a discussion of this conflict). These are interesting and often useful ways to talk about cemeteries, but the two features of the new cemetery landscape that are most relevant here are far more prosaic.

Firstly, the cemeteries which were opened in towns and cities in the second quarter of the 19th century almost always represented the first opportunity for families in the emerging middle classes to purchase burial space in perpetuity, thereby providing contexts suited to the erection of monuments to which the family could return over an extended or indefinite period. Completely aside from the overfull state of many churchyards, which hardly made them appealing sites for repeated commemorative visits, the often-vague plot-marking practices and uncertain ownership rights which persisted in church-run burial grounds (Rugg 2013b:336-7) made the erection of permanent monuments an unrewarding prospect. Cemeteries, on the other hand, had clear policies on the sale of space and were laid out on well-delineated plot systems so that purchased and unsold space could be identified easily, a contrast to churchyards which was emphasised in at least one contemporary guide-book (Clark 1843:29). The extent to which this distinction heralded the insidious commodification of burial (an opinion voiced at the time as well as subsequently [see Herman 2010:305] and challenged by Rugg [2013a:11]), or was a consequence of the intersection of affective individualism with the rise of property ownership (Stone 1977:246; Mytum 1989:245; Tarlow 1999a:139-40) are important considerations, but the most salient observation at this point is that these sites represented opportunities for permanent memorial ownership on an unprecedented scale and, in many locations, made the 'boom' in monument erection possible (Tarlow 1999a:108). They therefore represent sites at which many of those undertaking commemoration were doing so for the first time, and are therefore emergent spaces, not only in that they were continually changing with the addition and ageing of each monument and the growth of plants, but also in that they were constructed in concert with the construction of middle-class commemorative practice.

This brings us to the second particularly relevant factor; these were new, empty spaces. Clearly they were not empty in the sense that each parcel of land had its own history and biography (as a common [Southampton Cemetery], as woodland [Glasgow Necropolis], or as a pub garden [the Nonconformist section of Kensal Green Cemetery]), and these histories inevitably affected the sense of place evoked by each site. However, when they opened as cemeteries, these places bore no traces of earlier commemorative acts, had not been inscribed by such practices nor marked by that particular "construction of memory" (Van Dyke 2008: 278). Although designated as burial sites and to varying extents altered to approximate their new role, it was only through the gradual accumulation of activity and material that cemeteries actually *became* commemorative spaces, tied by myriad threads to the living community whose dead they housed. Simultaneously, as these activities and materials defined the place, they also delineated the parameters of commemoration as performed there. In this way the commemoration undertaken at each site was unique, framed by an ever-changing arrangement of monuments and the practices through which they were erected and subsequently used, and defined by the community/ies within which these spaces were embedded. Amongst the cemeteries opened in the second quarter of the 19th century, the establishment of the site provides a point of departure from which subsequent commemoration can be traced, meaning that the development of commemorative practice within the site can be considered from the point of its initial commencement without survey work extending back into periods where preservation becomes a serious issue, and without the sample becoming so enlarged as to be impracticable.

Admittedly, this was also the case for churchyards opened during the same period. Hundreds of new churches were built between the 1820s and the 1850s as a result of the 1818 Church Building Act (followed by a second act in 1824), which provided state funds for the construction of new churches, measures intended to reduce the increasing shortfall in sittings in some areas (Curl 2007:51). These churches often provided burial space (although intramural burial was banned [Rugg 2013b:336]), and Rugg (2013a:12) has pointed out that in her study of burial provision in North Yorkshire, a fifth of the 59 churches she surveyed were founded after 1801, making them only slightly older than the cemeteries which opened in the period before the 1850s Burial Acts. Rugg *et al* (2014) used this example to disrupt the commonly evoked binary distinction of old vs. new in relation to churchyards and cemeteries, as well as using their case studies in North Yorkshire and Sheffield to deconstruct some other oft-repeated binary oppositions constructed around these categories of space. Rugg (2013a:9) neatly unpicks the depiction of cemeteries as secular, capitalist and status-driven, in contrast to sacred, eternal and locally rooted churchyards, and illustrates (Rugg *et al* 2014:637) that in many areas church facilities continued to provide the bulk of burial provision even after the foundation of the first cemeteries.

Rugg's (2013a:1-2) arguments are compelling but, in demonstrating that the differences between these categories have often been overstated in the service of narratives focused on the emergence of modernity, she runs the risk of overlooking important differences and conflating what were considered by contemporaries to be distinct commemorative environments (Blanchard 1843; Clark 1843; Blair 1857). The differences in plot-purchasing regulation, mentioned above, were an important element, as was the fact that cemeteries were the first sites within which multiple religious groups were provided with burial facilities on an equal footing, both features becoming much more common parts of burial practice as the century continued. Perhaps most importantly, cemeteries were not located within the same frameworks of practice and experience as churchyards, nor did their physical characteristics evoke these.

An individual churchyard might be new, but the organisation of the burial site around the place of worship, and the distinct structure of the church itself, not only stitched the new site into a continuing set of practices, weaving it into the community's experience of religious observance (or exclusion from such observance), but served as a mnemonic for other churches and churchyards. Like a new cemetery, a new churchyard had not yet been marked by commemoration, but by evoking other church/churchyard landscapes it was already intertwined with the memories and associations that visitors brought from their experiences of other such landscapes, it already had a 'sense of place' (Van Dyke 2008:278). New churchyards may not have had the lumpy ground and variety of monuments of older sites to form the basis for subsequent practice, but through the structure of their physical space and the practices undertaken there, new churchyards were securely anchored to an existing set of commemorative parameters.

Cemeteries, therefore, offer the opportunity to study an emergent form of commemoration, one which was linked, certainly, to the practices undertaken in churchyards, but which was distinct as a result of differing administrative, social, religious, and physical frameworks around which cemeteries were constructed. Furthermore, these memorial landscapes can be traced to a definable point of origin, the opening of the site, facilitating study of the interrelationship between the developing monumental landscape and the commemorative practices through which it was created.

Figure 1.1 Map showing the locations of the five sampled sites. Map created using Google Maps.

The sites studied in this project are therefore all cemeteries, of one type or another (and we will return to the heterogeneity of these sites later), all of which were established before the Burial Acts of the 1850s. Of the five sites included here, the oldest two are the Glasgow Necropolis and Kensal Green All Souls Cemetery (referred to here as Kensal Green Cemetery), both established in 1832, and the youngest is Southampton Old Cemetery (referred to here as Southampton Cemetery), which was opened in 1846. Birmingham Key Hill (referred to here as Key Hill) was opened in 1836 and Bath Abbey Cemetery in 1844. These dates therefore form the starting points of the surveyed period, which runs until 1870, and includes monuments (in the relevant categories) erected in that year.

Period of Study

The choice of this date rests on two main factors, one regarding the changing status of cemetery commemoration, and the second of a more practical character. Firstly, by 1870, cemeteries had been part of the cultural landscape for 50 years, or about two generations, meaning that at many sites the parameters of practice were familiar to site users and had been etched into the landscape (although clearly commemorative practice continued, and continues, to change). Furthermore, in the wake of the Burial Acts of 1852 and 1853, which created an administrative template for the funding and establishment of cemeteries by locally established Burial Boards (Brooks 1989:47-48; Rugg *et al* 2014:639-640), cemeteries were opened at a considerable rate so that, by the 1870s, they were beginning to dominate burial provision in many areas. In Sheffield, for example, churchyards continued to be the main provider of burial space until after the opening of the Burial Board-run Burngreave Cemetery in 1862, despite the opening of the privately run Sharrow Vale Cemetery there in 1836 (Rugg *et al* 2014:637).

This meant that, by the early 1870s, the landscape of one specific cemetery was no longer likely to comprise the entirety of an individual's experience of this type of place, but rather would elicit memories of other sites, tying the commemorative landscape specific to one place into a broader set of expectations and experiences. Just as had been the case with churchyards, cemeteries were now sufficiently established and ubiquitous that they formed a mutually reinforcing sense of place, with shared material and social parameters. Commemorative practice in these spaces was therefore increasingly undertaken in reference not only to the monumental landscape of each site, but to those of other sites too. Clearly, the point at which this transition took place varied greatly between areas and individuals: some towns boasted multiple cemeteries by the end of the 1840s, while others had none until the Burial Boards were established. Similarly, some individuals with sufficient time, resources, and interest might have visited multiple cemeteries long before they became the mainstay of commemorative space. However, 1870 provides a convenient point at which to generalise such a shift, and also renders sample size practicable. This is the second consideration in choosing a cut-off period: the volume of survey work to be undertaken and subsequently processed would have been too great if a much longer time-frame had been selected.

Monument Types

This second consideration is directly affected by the range of monument types selected for survey: the wider the range and the greater the frequency of these forms, the shorter the timeframe must be to make survey work possible. Four main categories of monuments were studied: obelisks, urns, broken columns and Gothic crosses. Egyptianizing mausolea and other Egyptianizing forms were also included at Kensal Green and the Glasgow Necropolis as a comparative data set for analysing the use of obelisks. Between them, these categories comprised nearly 1000 monuments across five sites. A central factor in the selection of these types was their ubiquity across sites, which would permit inter-site comparisons, but in practice broken columns were found at neither Key Hill nor Southampton Cemetery.

Another element in the selection of these forms was the ease with which they could be differentiated from each other and from other monument types. This project is concerned with interrogating the relevance of stylistic variation to commemorative practice, and by extension with the value of such boundaries as units of meaning in archaeological investigation. It was therefore considered necessary to choose types around which comparatively straightforward boundaries could be drawn, forms that could be differentiated at a glance by the casual viewer as well as by the archaeologist, and which were likely to have been identified as distinct groups by those who selected them. The selected monument groups are therefore all identifiable on the basis of a single central feature, rather than on a polythetic list of elements. A secondary effect of this is that these groups sometimes cross what might (in other circumstances) be considered stylistic boundaries. For instance, although the majority of surveyed urns were sculpted in the round and found on pedestal or chest tomb monuments (see Mytum 2004:68-69), a small minority were carved into tablet headstones (see Figure 5.24), which had been the most frequent form of the motif in the 18th century (ibid:76), a distinction with considerable implications regarding the cost and visibility of monuments. There were also complications in cases in which a single monument exhibited the elements associated with more than one category, for example an urn or Gothic cross placed on an obelisk-type base. Policing stylistic boundaries is not a straightforward task, and rather than excluding any of these monuments or reducing their ambiguity to a simple either/or, the details of each form were coded so that such variation could be explored subsequently (there is more on this in chapter four).

A third central concern in the selection of forms for study related to the extent to which they would, as a set of comparative samples, facilitate the discussion of themes relating to the interplay between stylistic variation and commemorative practice. The initial point of entry for this project was a focus on the use of obelisks as memorials, and the relevance (or otherwise) of stylistic and formal variation to the practice of commemoration. The other categories were therefore introduced as a means of exploring the contours of obelisk use in comparison to monuments belonging to different stylistic groups. What the combination of forms offers is one comparison across an ambiguous and shifting stylistic boundary, and another across a more strongly articulated and consistently policed divide.

The comparison of obelisks with urns and broken columns provides the means to explore differences in usage between forms that, although clearly distinguishable, did not belong to strongly differentiated stylistic categories. During the 19th century and within subsequent academic discourse, the boundary between Neoclassical and Egyptianizing styles has been subject to considerable movement, meaning that commemorative obelisks have sometimes been identified as Egyptianizing (as a consequence of their origins), and sometimes as Neoclassical, or even neo-Egyptianizing (Humbert 1994:21) (as a result of their use within Roman architecture) (see Brooks 1989:64; a 1999:69; Scott 2005b:46; Curl 2005:xxii; 2007:200). Their symbolic significance has therefore sometimes been considered under the same rubric as that of urns and broken columns, evoking a generalised image of antiquity and Arcadia (Etlin 1984:214), while at others they have been understood as distinct from these forms, redolent of a specifically Egyptian culture of death (Brooks 1989:62), the distinction often hinging on only small variations in form or decoration (ibid:64; Scott 2005b:46). To compare the use of urns, obelisks and broken columns is therefore to compare the use of forms that are inconsistently allocated to distinct stylistic traditions, so that when distinctions were drawn between them they were not fraught with religious complexity or moral significance.

In sharp contrast to this, Gothic crosses were, and are, consistently identified as belonging to a very different stylistic group to the other monuments in the survey. Not only this, but the stylistic difference was loaded, at the time, with stridently stated religious, and even moral, significance. The inclusion of these crosses therefore allows us to address the relevance (or otherwise) of contemporary debates regarding the moral and religious value of architecture to commemorative practice. The revival of Gothic architecture in the 19th century was closely linked to the emergence and vociferous campaigning of the Ecclesiologists, a group which called for an architectural and theological revival of the Anglican Church, and drew upon “an idealised medieval period” (Rugg 1999:226) as the prime resource for this regeneration. Their interest was not restricted to church architecture, but extended to the commemorative choices of private individuals and the commemorative landscapes that these choices created. The society’s publications (and those of individuals sympathetic to their cause) were blunt in their condemnation of contemporary memorials: the only acceptable forms were coped body stones and erect cruciform monuments (for instance Carter 1843; *The Ecclesiologist* 1845:14-22; *The Instrumenta Ecclesiastica* 1856:57-58), and any other “material emblem” was considered heathen (Carter 1843:10). The crosses sanctioned by these publications were not plain Latin crosses, but a variety of heraldic, and broadly Gothic forms, including flared, finialed, pierced, and ringed varieties (see Figure 1.2 –Figure 1.5). These are the crosses included in this study and they are glossed as Gothic; the ringed examples might alternatively be described as Celtic, but this term was not generally used by Ecclesiologists and the revival of Celtic monuments was a somewhat separate and later phenomenon (Brooks 1989:76). Like the urn monuments, these forms cross-cut the boundary between headstone and pedestal monuments, and also appear as freestanding monuments, these distinctions having the same attendant implications regarding cost and visibility as with urn monuments.

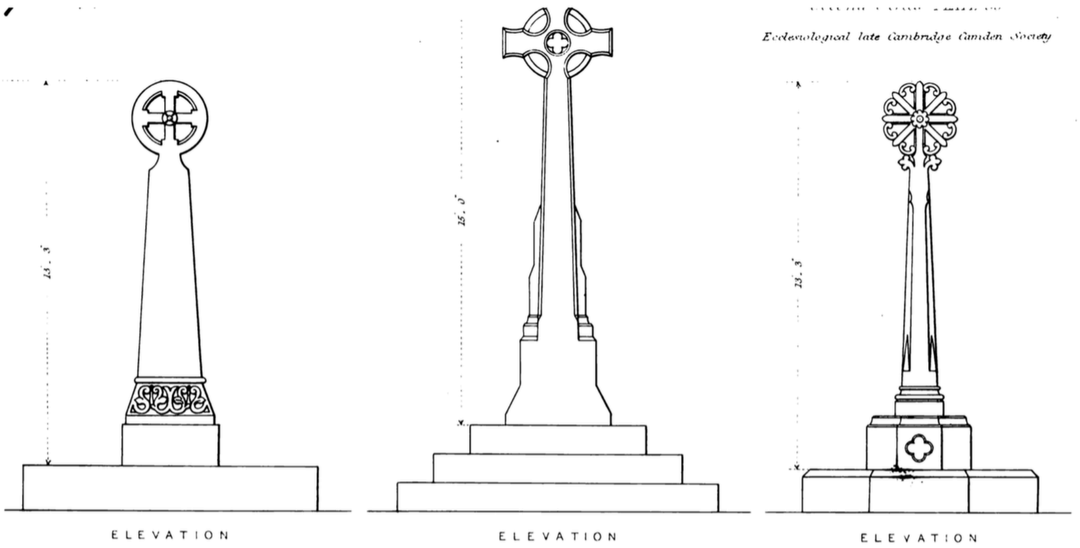
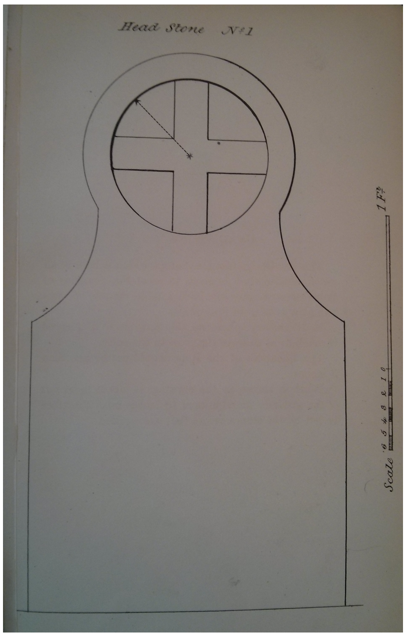
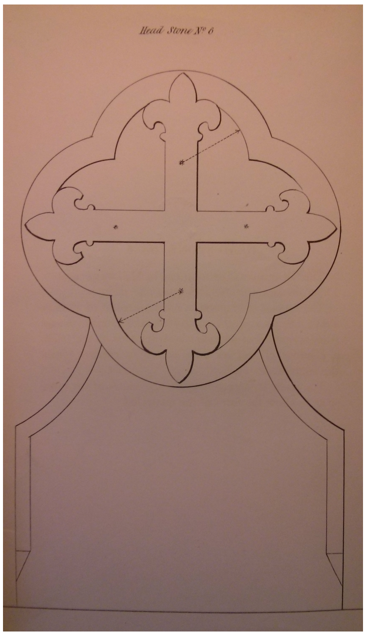
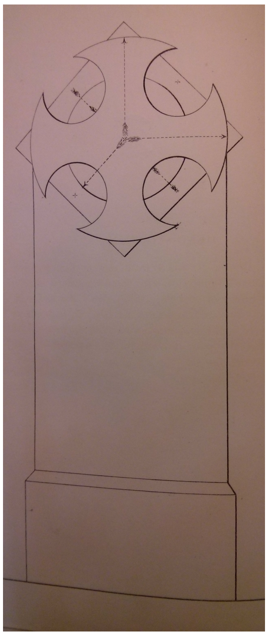


Figure 1.2 Monuments recommended in the *Instrumenta Ecclesiastica* 1856. (The top of the central cross is missing in the digitised edition of the volume.)







Ecclesiologist type monument designs provided in Carter's 1842 volume on Christian gravestones.

Figure 1.3 Headstone design number 1: pierced ringed cross.

Figure 1.4 Headstone design number 6: cross with finials.

Figure 1.5 Headstone design number 8: flared cross.

Because of the High-Church character of Ecclesiology, as well as the longstanding association of Gothic architecture with Catholicism (Morley 1971:52; Brooks 1989:21-22; Curl 2000:55), the adoption of these forms tends to be associated with Anglicans rather than Nonconformists, who tend to be of a Low Church persuasion and are said to persist in the use of Neoclassical forms for commemoration (Mytum 2000:10,24; 2002a:194). However, the extent to which this pattern was repeated in different commemorative contexts has not been clearly demonstrated, and the comparatively early adoption of Gothic architecture in Nonconformist chapel building (Curl 2007:140) suggests that the binary of Nonconformist/Classical : Anglican/Gothic Revival may not be straightforward. Comparing the use of Ecclesiological crosses with the other monument forms in this survey makes it possible to examine the interplay between religious and stylistic distinction in commemorative practice rather than in specialist architectural and theological discourse, and to ask questions about regional variation and the relationship between the commemorative choices of different religious communities when using one subdivided landscape.

Monument surveying and documentary material

This selection of monument types allows us to explore differential usage across a range of stylistic boundaries, some consistently and strongly articulated, others less so, bringing into relief the assumptions that are made about the significance of monuments based on their allocated stylistic identities, and creating space for us to consider other means of signification in commemorative practice. Some of these might be articulated through specific forms within specific settings, while others might not relate to the form of the monument at all, but to its existence as a material link to, or continuation of, the bod(y/ies) beneath (Hallam and Hockey 2001:14). The means by which the uses of these monuments are explored, in terms of the identities of their erectors, and the uses to which they were put, comes partly from the surveyed material itself, and partly from the documentary evidence with which this was combined.

The surveyed monuments were each hand-marked on large-scale cemetery maps and recorded on a system developed from Mytum's (2000; 2004:231) methodology. This included information regarding form, decoration, material, size, orientation, and condition, as well as the wording of the inscription and any indication of the mason responsible or the plot number. All legible inscriptions were recorded and subsequently used to establish, as far as possible, the chronology of the commemorated death(s) and the erection of the monument. The details of the recording process and the limitations of this dating method are explored further in the methodology section (chapter 4). The maps were subsequently digitised and layered to permit comparison across time, and by monument type.

The data collected through survey was then combined with census data, which added information on family structure, occupations, housing location and type, and residential servant employment. Post Office directories and other local business directories were also used to confirm or supplement the inscription and census data. These directories were further used, alongside other archive material, to explore some of the commercial settings and relationships through which monuments would have been purchased.

The combination of inscriptions and census data not only helps in pinpointing the social and economic statuses of the families involved, it also makes it possible, in most cases, to identify the initial subject (or subjects) of commemoration and establish their relationship with the monument erector. In some instances the identity of the monument erector is stated on the monument itself, but when this is not the case, it is assumed that the head of the family was responsible for the monument. The implications and pitfalls of this are discussed further in the methodology section.

In addition to this data, further information was acquired from the cemeteries' burial records, although this data was patchy. The information provided included plot number, burial number (either within plot or within site overall), plot ownership, the number of individuals buried there, the identity of the family member or religious official conducting the funeral, the class of funeral, and/or the location from which a body was removed if reburial was taking place. However, no single site's records provided all of these details, meaning that the data-sets from the different cemeteries permit different kinds of analysis. Furthermore, each site used a different method of allocating and recording plot numbers, meaning that differing degrees of chronological or sequential exactitude were possible within each samples.

Structure of work

This expansive dataset allows us to explore several intertwining aspects of monument usage. In the subsequent analyses these are roughly divided into three sections focused, respectively, on social identities in commemorative practice (chapter five), religious distinction and monument usage (chapter six), and a detailed examination of the commemorative process at one site, looking at the role of the cemetery landscape and monumental masons within this (chapter seven). These themes are not laid out on a cemetery-by-cemetery basis, but discussed in relation to those sites which are most pertinent, either because of their specific structure or monumental landscape, the community or context within which they were embedded, or the data available to elucidate particular questions.

The two smallest samples are presented first: Southampton and Bath Abbey Cemeteries. The histories of these cemeteries, and the structure of the samples taken there are set out and then discussed in relation to the development of locally defined commemorative practices, especially in the use of obelisks. At these two sites, patterns of obelisk use are identified which have not been seen elsewhere, either in the other samples in this work, or in the wider literature. At Southampton obelisks are strongly, and statistically significantly, associated with the extra-familial commemoration of merchant seamen, and especially ships' engineers, a practice that is also partly defined by denominational affiliation. In contrast, the use of the same monuments in Bath is associated with the commemoration of military families and wives. These patterns of use raise questions about the scales at which it is meaningful to discuss the significances of commemorative monuments and the practices that are implicated in the establishment of these. The interaction between monument purchasers and the emerging commemorative landscape is considered to be centrally important to addressing these issues, although it is also recognised as necessary to look beyond the walls of the cemetery in considering why particular monument forms might be associated with specific usages within some commemorative settings and not in others.

Birmingham Key Hill and Kensal Green Cemeteries are presented next, and used in contrast to Bath Abbey and Southampton to consider differentiation in commemorative practice along the lines of denominational variation. The religious topographies of these four sites are markedly different, providing a strong basis upon which to explore variation in monument use across the

Nonconformist/Anglican divide. Bath Abbey and Birmingham Key Hill are both single-use sites, in that the former is entirely consecrated, and thereby effectively excludes Nonconformists, whereas the latter is entirely unconsecrated, thereby excluding all those wishing to be buried in accordance with the traditions of the established Church, although it was nominally open to all (Curl 2000:79). Burials in these sites therefore took place in isolation from the practices of the denominational 'other', in contrast to Kensal Green and Southampton, which were both interdenominational sites in which Anglicans and Nonconformists were allocated separate space within a single commemorative landscape. Comparing the commemorative practices of Anglicans and Nonconformists between single-use and interdenominational settings makes it possible to consider the effects that the religious topography of commemorative landscapes might have on the relative practices of these groups. The comparison of Kensal Green and Southampton offers another perspective on this possibility as the division of consecrated and unconsecrated space in these sites is quite different, being almost undetectable on the ground in Southampton, and heavily underlined in Kensal Green. Studying the relative frequency of Gothic cross, urn, obelisk and broken column use at these sites, and in the different sections of these sites, provides a way of exploring the apparent preferences of these groups, the extent to which they can be generalised, whether they were diagnostic, as has been suggested (Mytum 2002a:194), and whether they are affected by the religious structures of the sites in which they are undertaken. It is important to note, however, that Nonconformity was a broad church, and the denominational make-up of an unconsecrated burial space in one area of one city might be quite different to that of a similar burial space in another area. Furthermore, within one unconsecrated burial space a variety of denominations were likely to intermingle, some closely allied with the Anglican church, others strongly differentiated, and the boundary between Anglicanism and Nonconformity was not always clearly delineated, and an individual might repeatedly cross it during their life time. There were even some Nonconformists who chose to be buried in consecrated ground (Buckham 2000). On top of this, not all of those buried in consecrated space were members of the Anglican Church, for instance in the Kensal Green sample there were members of the Greek and Russian Orthodox Churches. Controlling for these variations is not always straightforward, and the details of this are explored further in the methodology section; however, a comparison such as this (of the denominational differentiation of practices undertaken in these contrasting settings) has not previously been attempted and is worthy of exploration.

In the final section of data analysis, the sample from the Glasgow Necropolis is introduced and used to consider the interaction between monument erectors, the commemorative landscape, and monumental masons. The development of commemorative sites as integrated entities is addressed and discussion of monument use moves beyond concerns with formal variation, to take in other patterns of practice and forms of signification that, although inscribed into the landscape and the monumental body, are not dependent on the differentiation of monument forms. The process of purchasing monuments is also considered in detail, as a counterpoint to the preceding analysis which has thus far prioritised the interaction of the monument erector with the commemorative site.

These sections of analysis, however, are preceded by three sections regarding the theoretical framework of this study, the historical and social context within which the data is interpreted, and the methodology followed in undertaking the project.

Chapter 2 Theoretical Framework.

In terms of the material with which it is concerned, this study falls firmly into the category of historical archaeology, and more specifically into a subset of studies concerned with the later historical period, or post-medieval period, depending on your periodization of preference. This is not an empty label; there are significant implications to studying material which is embedded within a dense written culture, and which is *itself* comprised partly of text. Negotiating the integration of archaeological and documentary material is centrally important. All too often 18th- and 19th-century commemorative landscapes have been reduced to their textual elements, their physical forms left unrecorded by local history projects, the stones relegated to the role of vessels for the real object of study, the text (although Mytum argues strongly against this tendency [2000:50]). Historical archaeologists are faced with the task of wresting this material from the hands of historians and justifying what archaeology is *for* in historical contexts, engendering a sometimes ambivalent relationship with documentary evidence (Paynter 2000:13-14, Gilchrist 2005:331).

One response to this has been to study those groups who, through marginalisation or oppression, were not present within, or had no voice in, contemporary documentary sources. This is worthy work, and historical archaeologies of burial have been amongst those to make visible those denied a presence within the historical record (for example the chapters collected under the heading "Disenfranchised People" in *In Remembrance* [Poirier and Bellantoni 1997]). In many instances this has gone hand in hand with the development of innovative approaches to exploring gender, race, and class identities that had previously been overlooked, especially in the United States (White and Beaudry 2009:201). This study can make no claim to enfranchise an occluded people: the erectors of the monuments with which it is concerned were mostly educated and affluent members of the burgeoning middle classes. It does, however, work to offer "an expansive, multistranded perspective" (ibid:201) on the identities of these people, rather than reducing, a priori, the significance of their practices to "a single, often externally imposed, aspect of identity" (ibid:201), such as economic status.

Another approach has been to study those activities too prosaic for the historical record (Orser and Fagan 1995:5), using material culture to fill in "those missing pages that documents could not" (Wilkie 2009:335). This study does not appear to fit into this category either, as the commemorative materials and practices at its heart are well documented: there are descriptions of visits to undertakers and graveyards in contemporary fiction (Dickens 1843-1844; Morley 1971:18; Wood 2015); there are official and unofficial reports on the state of burial facilities and customs (Walker 1839; Chadwick 1843); there is legislation; there are guidebooks and treatises on commemorative architecture (Carter 1842; Blanchard 1843; Clark 1843; Blair 1857; Justyne 1873); there are newspaper and journal articles commenting on the opening and closing of sites and on the funerals of notable people; there are minutes from cemetery committees and regulations for customers; there are diaries and there are business records. There are even the texts on the monuments themselves.

What this study offers is a perspective distinct from those afforded by studying the wealth of textual evidence alone; it is not so much a question of filling in the gaps left by textual sources, as of reorienting discussion towards the material aspects of commemoration and engaging with the landscapes and objects through which it was experienced as a fully realised and embodied practice. Implicated in this reorientation is not only the expansion of the category of evidence to include the material as well as the textual, but also a redirection of theoretical focus which draws on the multidisciplinary character of historical archaeology and the eclectic theoretical background of archaeology more generally. This is not to suggest that there is no overlap with historical studies, but the theoretical concerns of this work are not the axes around which a textual study of the same issues would likely revolve. The following section lays out the theoretical premises upon which the subsequent analysis is predicated and which are implicated in the structure of the entire project. These are grouped into four sections, under the rubrics of 'style', 'consumption', 'emotion', and 'landscape', although the discussion of each necessarily involves consideration of other areas, including unwieldy questions concerning identity and the relationship between meaning and material culture.

Style

Style is one of the most pervasive and longstanding categories in archaeological thought, as well as being one of the most contested and slippery. Culture-historical approaches were nothing if not an exercise in the delineation of stylistic boundaries, and this study follows in the long and problematic tradition of using stylistic categories as units of enquiry. Archaeological, art-historical, and anthropological approaches to style have changed dramatically in the past century, however, and understandings of the concept have become much more varied and developed. It is no longer tenable to categorise material on the basis of stylistic variation and use these categories as the subject for analysis without examining the conceptual parameters of the establishment of these categories and acknowledging the issues inherent in them. Stylistic variation is therefore part of the foundational premise of this project, in terms of the selection of material for study and the axes along which practice and meaning are examined, but it is also the subject of this study, acknowledged as, in some respects, an artefact of the research itself, its meaningfulness as an analytical category called firmly into question.

Early Archaeology, Architectural Criticism and Style

During the 19th century archaeologists seldom discussed style as a subject of study, but variation in material culture was a key object of research. The grouping of objects according to formal variation – in terms of surface decoration, shape, colour, and material – was a central part of not only archaeological practice, but also within art history, Classical archaeology, and numismatics. All these disciplines used "stylistic analysis to order various kinds of artifacts chronologically, determine where they were made, and even try to ascertain who had made them" (Trigger 2006:65). In archaeology, however, little effort was expended on considering the significance of material variability beyond its utility as an indicator of chronological sequences.

It is worth lingering on the early role of style in archaeology as the material upon which this study is based is itself the result of contemporary engagements with a number of pasts, pasts that were understood through the lens of stylistic variation as it was then conceived. Some of these pasts were familiar to those erecting monuments: the ‘Gothic’ crosses sampled in this project were echoes of the medieval Gothic architecture of many English parish churches, a style that was a central feature of the architectural landscape for many communities and was intimately related to the experience of religion for those who worshiped in such buildings (Curl 2007:15). Obelisks, in contrast, would have been encountered much more rarely, and seldom in association with anything approaching quotidian practice. Until the arrival of Cleopatra’s needle in 1878, only the wealthy few who travelled abroad (and who happened to come of age either before or after the Napoleonic Wars) would have seen an original Egyptian example, and even then it would most likely have been in a Roman setting. Whether familiar or exotic, these materials were understood as belonging to specific styles and were recognised as borrowed forms that originated in distinct periods and contexts with specific ancestries and associations.

Our engagement with style must therefore be twofold, articulating our own conception of style with that which defined 19th-century engagements with this material, and mediating any tension that may arise between these. To some extent this tension is intrinsic to all studies of style which acknowledge simultaneously that formal variation is part of the archaeological dataset, a tool to be used in investigation, and was also a continually emerging, contested and temporal “constitutive element of social practice” (Conkey 1990:12-13). The double-exposure is more pronounced here, however, because in contrast to work on prehistoric settings, we are faced with not only the usage of formal variation in the material we study, but to contemporary debate regarding style in general, and specific styles in particular.

The extent to which these understandings were defined, in the 19th century, by archaeological engagements with either the original material or the concept of style more generally was actually fairly limited. As was indicated above, archaeologists were yet to develop any clearly defined uses for, or definitions of, the concept of style beyond the potential significance of formal variation in the establishment of chronologies. Furthermore, although Roman, Greek, ancient Egyptian, and even Gothic material was nominally within the purview of archaeologists, the styles of these materials were also part of contemporary architecture, and had been for some time. Even elements of Egyptianizing design, which became more popular after the defeat of Napoleon at Aboukir in 1798, had featured in the European repertoire during the 18th century (Curl 2011b:370, 376). It was therefore architects, and historians and critics of architecture, rather than archaeologists, who defined, to a large extent, the frameworks within which engagement with style generally, and these styles specifically, took place.

The architectural landscape and critical atmosphere of the 19th century can be safely characterised as controversial and rapidly changing, and the religious and political associations of different styles and their proponents will be explored more fully in the chapter concerned with the historical context of the material (chapter three). Here it suffices to note that throughout the period of study, stylistic categories in architecture were treated as serious, meaningful, and discrete units, to be considered carefully and deployed thoughtfully. Further, their histories were felt to be important factors in their present usage, their lineages and origins something that required addressing and assessing. One characteristic of this was that during the second quarter of the century, “style became confused with morals” (Curl 2007:87). This subjection of “architecture to moral analysis” (Lewis 2002:84) is often attributed to Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin (1812-1852), one of the key proponents of the Gothic Revival, who, in 1836 published a volume called *Contrasts,* which compared contemporary and medieval architecture on an explicitly moral basis. Pugin placed significant emphasis on the relationship between architectural styles and the societies that created them, and his evaluation of 14th and 15th-century architecture was therefore influenced by his positive assessment of the socio-religious context of that period as one of great “piety and communal spirit” (Curl 2007:62). This linking of particular material forms with specific places in space and time echoed the contemporary archaeological usage of style as a temporal indicator, although the close identification of style with the beliefs and practices of a group (for instance their piety and communal spirit) was not yet a feature of archaeological approaches.

The evaluation of architectural styles in reference to their perceived origins persisted in architectural criticism through the middle of the century, sometimes in order to celebrate associations, as in Pugin's *Contrasts*, while at others attempting to deny them. John Ruskin (1819-1900), for example, "twisted himself up in knots trying to explain the moral appeal of an Italian Gothic building while denying the faith of the men who built it" (Dishon 2000:197). It was not only the origins of a style which faced moral evaluation, however, but its subsequent usage and development in different periods. The popularity of Classical architecture as a whole was affected by the censure which was laid upon the predominantly Neoclassical idiom of Regency architecture as a result of its being "the product of what, to the Victorians, was an age of religious torpor and moral failure" (Curl 2007:83). To an extent this evaluation of architectural styles in reference to the contexts of their origin and subsequent use can be seen as a form of Associationism. This approach to design, which emerged in the early part of the 1800s, endorsed the "concept of architecture as physical memory" (ibid:83), its ability to elicit pleasure being dependent on the individual viewer's own stock of knowledge. The implication was again that style could not be understood outside of the contexts of its development and usage, that it was a contextual.

A second and contrasting strand in architectural approaches to style in this period was the valuation of designs on the basis of their conformity to abstract principles. This was not a new paradigm. Vitruvius' demand for utility, firmness, and delight was an earlier iteration of this mode, but the specific principles, and the styles which were judged to adhere to them, shifted. Ruskin (1849), in his *Seven Lamps of Architecture*, called for Sacrifice, Truth, Power, Beauty, Life, Memory, and Obedience (Lewis 2002:113), while Pugin (1841), in his *True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture* claimed "1st, that there should be no features about a building that are not necessary for convenience, construction, or propriety; 2nd, that all ornament should consist of enrichment of the essential construction of the building" (ibid:1).

If there was a tension between these twin standpoints (that the value of architectural styles was defined by their origins and usage and yet simultaneously sprang from their material conformity to abstract qualities), it did not weaken the rhetoric or conviction of the professional proponents of different styles. Nor were these debates sequestered in the realm of professional designers and critics. For the wider populace of non-specialists, conversance with these concepts – or at least with their broad brushstrokes and shifting favours – was lent importance by its implication in the performance of taste through consumption. The intersections of style, taste, consumption, and the performance of identity are explored later in this section, but for now it is worth noting that contemporary conceptions of style in architecture, as well as in other areas which are not explored here, such as art, fashion, and literature, were complex, subject to considerable debate, and enmeshed in both understandings and evaluations of the past, and presentations of the self in the present.

Twentieth-Century Approaches to Style

The culture-historical definition of archaeological cultures as formally distinct material assemblages associated with specific ethnic groups ensured that stylistic variation was a central concern in archaeological research during the first half of the 20th century, and defined the landscape for future research. As Dunnell wrote in 1978, "the fundamental structure of the archaeological record as we know it is a product of the cultural historic paradigm and its predominantly stylistic units" (1978:197). There is a degree of inevitability to this means of rendering the archaeological record knowable, as without it the archaeological record slips through our fingers, lacking contours onto which we can hold: "there is nothing to discuss or be interpreted without assigning or inferring style" (Conkey and Hastorf 1990:2). Indeed, culture-historical type research is still sometimes described as an essential foundation for subsequent study: "[i]n places where little archaeological research has been done, it is necessary to construct culture-historical frameworks as a prerequisite for addressing other problems" (Trigger 2006:312).

This framing of the archaeological record is not, however, without significant and problematic consequences. One of these is that, in the culture-historical paradigm, style, stylistic patterns and units became both the "immediate subjects of our scientific inquiry *and* the objects or our knowledge" (Conkey 1990:8). This conflation of assemblages with social/historical units was based on the understanding that style was "expressive – expressive of a maker's mind, of a world view, of a historical entity" (ibid:8), and therefore had explanatory value. We may no longer equate stylistic units with ethnic groups, but the sense that the explanatory value of style lies in its mediation between the object and some other entity lying behind it has persisted. Conkey (ibid:7) describes this as *logocentrism* which, in stylistic studies, is “when the meaning of an artifact is referred to its ‘style’, when the style of an artifact is referred to its (social) ‘group’”. This distinct way of conceptualising style, and its strongly normative bent, has certainly been subject to significant critique, but it remains a persistent mode of thought both within and beyond academic archaeology.

Throughout the culture-historical period, style generally remained an under-theorised and under-discussed concept. There were, however, some indications of the direction in which analysis would subsequently move, namely towards definitions of style in relation to, or in terms of, function. Gordon Childe argued in *The Danube in Prehistory* (1929) that changes in material culture which were “not obviously dictated by practical motives”, such as the “adoption of a new style of pottery or of a new weapon when the superiority of latter over the former was not guaranteed on its face” (1929:vii) indicated an ethnic change, whereas the adoption of “an obviously superior device (e.g. the cut-and-thrust sword)” was more likely to be the result of trade or imitation (ibid:vii). The distinction between variation which conferred practical advantage and variation which had no impact on function was not clarified by Childe, but the line that he drew was in some sense a prefiguring of subsequent debate regarding the relationship between style and function. It also highlighted the problem that was to lead archaeologists away from a culture-historical approach; that the relationship between stylistic units and ethnic groups was far from straightforward.

It was in the second half of the 20th century, with the development of Processual and then Post-Processual archaeologies that style became a more explicit subject of study as much as a feature of the object of study (the archaeological record). With the call to consider culture as the extra-somatic means of adaptation (White 1959, Binford 1962) it is not surprising that the functions of different aspects of material culture should become a central focus. Through the 1960s and into the 1970s style tended to be relegated to a secondary position, taken broadly as variation in material culture that conferred no functional advantage, "an analytic category that correlated with the variation beyond functional necessity of human behaviour" (Boast 1997:176). This variation was generally recognised as relating, in one way or another, to the social realm, but the role that it played varied considerably. For some, like Dunnell (1978), this functionally neutral variation was simply the result of random, 'stochastic', drift and was therefore a passive reflection of social boundaries. Sackett's (1982) 'isochresitc variation' continued in this vein, presenting style as a passively produced by-product of the social milieu in which objects were produced, albeit one which could not be segregated from function, but inhered in the forms of utilitarian objects as much as pottery designs. Other archaeologists, however, began to recognise that non-utilitarian variation might not always be passive, but could be intentionally manipulated and used as communication. As early as 1972 Binford noted: "it [style] might serve as a conscious expression of between group solidarity" (Binford 1972:200 quoted in Shanks and Tilley 1987:88). Generally, however, the social function of this conception of style, in "promoting group solidarity, awareness, and identity" (Shanks and Tilley 1987:88) was envisaged in fairly passive terms. The idea that stylistic variation might constitute a medium of active communication only really became a focus for research with the publication of Wobst's 1977 paper on "stylistic behaviour and information exchange".

Already by this time, style had been recognised as a problematic category, integral to archaeological research but lacking in meaning (Wobst 1977:317). Wobst (ibid) sought to move beyond definitions which considered style either as a residual category (once function had been taken into account), or identified it on the basis of congruity with particular locales, periods, or peoples, without interrogating "the causes for this congruence" (ibid:317). His alternative to these approaches was to define style as a "strategy of information exchange" (ibid:321) and delineate the parameters within which this form of communication might be expected, and the types of messages that it would most often be used to transmit (ibid:324-325). Specifically, because of the expense of material objects in comparison to words, "only simple invariate and recurrent messages will normally be transmitted stylistically", e.g. emotional state, rank, ownership, pre/proscription (ibid:322, 324). Furthermore, the intended recipients of these messages would tend to be "intermediate in social distance to the emitter" since for those intimate with the emitter the information would be redundant, while those too distant might not encounter, or be able to decode, the message (ibid:323-4). This model, still maintained function as a key point of reference, stylistic information transmission was envisaged as a socially *functional* practice, facilitating "processes of social integration and social differentiation" (ibid:327), closely with aligned Processual concerns. Wobst (ibid) did not linger over questions of how stylistic information exchange might be differentially used or manipulated by actors, and did not display more than a cursory interest in the forms of signification that this exchange would involve, or the specific material articulations of these. Rather, by treating style not as a type of material variation, but as a set of behaviours, his approach created the theoretical space for other researchers to address style as a set of practices as much as a set of material attributes. He had opened "the possibility that objects could have a symbolic content that was socially constructive… [and that] style, with language, was the medium within which people constructed identity, rather than simply copying each other" (Boast 1997:177).

From this point on, archaeological approaches to style began to proliferate (Carr and Neitzel 1995:6), some of which intersected with art-historical and anthropological treatments of style, focussing on questions of meaning, signification, and practice. It is these approaches that are of direct relevance to the stance taken in this project. The intention here is not to summarise the myriad conceptions and uses of style, or to offer a unifying perspective. Rather, it is to present the perspective which is taken in the following analysis.

Style is construed here as meaningful and socially constructive practice, as much as material patterning. This approach, however, affords the concept a somewhat problematic duality; it is simultaneously the material patterning we (as archaeologists) use as a tool, as a point of "access to difference" (Conkey 1990:7), and yet is/was also "part of the means by which humans make sense of their world and with which cultural meanings are always in production." (Conkey and Hastorf 1990:4). There is a tension within this duality that should be recognised, as style becomes both the subject and object of enquiry (ibid:2).

Furthermore, to some extent our usage of stylistic patterning is itself a creative act, as like art historians, archaeologists use style to create the subject of their study (Alpers 1979:96).

This duality is recognised in Hodder's (1990:45) definition of style as "the referral of an individual event to a general way of doing". This approach has been criticised for being too broad, for encompassing all meaningful social action (Boast 1997:179, Carr and Neitzel 1995:5) to the extent that the category of style becomes meaningless. It is not, however, the potential scope of its application that is of interest here, rather its treatment of style as an open-ended dialectic. Hodder (1990) asks whether style is observed or acted; whether it resides in the observer's comparison of a single thing to others and the interpretation of that relationship, or whether, for example, "in the action of creating a pot, style exists in the material similarities and differences created in comparison to other pots" (ibid:45). He concludes that this division is not applicable, as all interpretations are also events, in that they have effects in the world, and each "event is itself an interpretation making reference to other events" (ibid:46).

This model for style allows us to recognise our own interpretations of material culture as in some sense constitutive of style, but it also offers a frame for envisioning the interplay between the individual act, the object it creates, and the more nebulous 'whole' of style. Each event or act resulting in the production of material culture is recognised as occurring in reference to other, previous acts and materials, and is an interpretation of these. Once it has occurred it becomes "part of the resources for interpretive stylistic activity" (ibid:46). The "inbuilt dynamic" (ibid:46) of this definition allows for stylistic practice to be socially meaningful without reducing it to imitation, resorting to normative expectations, or denying actors in the past the same agency we would afford ourselves. The definition provides space for negotiating the balance between structure and agency in the consideration of style.

It also necessitates a shift away from seeing style, and material culture more broadly, as the product of a particular group or culture – imagined as a bounded unit with its edges demarcated with stylistic difference – towards seeing material culture as "an active constitutive element of social practice"

(Conkey 1990:13). Furthermore, it allows us to recognise the ambiguity and multivalence of style, "it is no longer necessary for archaeologists to assume that 'a' style has 'a' meaning" (Hodder 1990:50); rather it has "multiple, contradictory meanings that do not exist in the style but only in the style as used in social contexts. Style does not have 'a' meaning, but is part of the process of creating meanings" (ibid:50).

Hodder's (ibid:45) definition of style as "the referral of an individual event to a general way of doing" does not, however, specify the form(s) of signification through which the interpretation of material might be meaningful, nor the ways in which the referencing of one event to broader ways of doing might be used as part of different social contexts. Considering the former point first, 'text' has been "one of the dominant metaphors, or even models, for explaining how meaning is inscribed into the material world" (Boast 1997:179). Semiotics and structuralism were major influences on approaches to material culture not only in archaeology, but also in anthropology, sociology and art history, and one of the major consequences of this has been the privileging of linguistic forms of signification, especially symbolism, in which the relationship between the signifier (visual form, sound) and the signified (meaning) is arbitrary (Shanks and Tilley 1987:99). The result is that in this model, "objects are to material culture what words are to language; they are elements within a symbolic code" (Knappett 2005:7). Knappett (ibid:6) argues that this is problematic on several levels, firstly because it endorses an idealist perspective reliant on "a set of assumptions, based on a Cartesian worldview, that situate mind, cognition, language, and thought in a different domain from body, perception, practice and action". The model is therefore a hindrance when it comes to considerations of practical, embodied knowledge, which does not fit into these dualisms. Furthermore, it conflates communication with signification (ibid:8) and overlooks forms of signification other than symbolism.

Knappett (ibid) suggests that rather than pursuing a Saussurian model of signification, which focuses on symbolic signification, Peirce's approach to semiotics should be considered. In contrast to Saussure's dyad of signifier and signified, related to each other by arbitrary convention, Peirce's system posits a triad comprised of representamen, object, and interpretant, and covers more forms of signification than just the symbolic, creating space in which to consider signs in which similarity, contiguity, or causality might play a role (ibid:88). As well as recognising symbols, Peirce presented two other basic categories of sign; the icon and the index. In the case of the former, the relationship between signifier and signified is a matter of similarity, often framed visually, although also pertaining to onomatopoeia or even sensual icon (the example Knappet offers of the latter is the rubber nipple of a baby's bottle). Indexical signs, on the other hand, are related to the referent by "contiguity or causality" (ibid:90), although these relationships can be very variable. A weathercock is considered an index of wind, which is a relationship of direct causation, but a pointed finger is also considered an index, not because it was caused to point by the object it points at, but because of the spatio-temporal, although indirect, contiguity that is created in the moment of pointing (ibid:93). There is often overlap between indices and icons, with a single object acting as both to some extent. Across both categories a distinction can be drawn between those which are interpretable with little specific cultural knowledge, and arise spontaneously or necessarily, and those which require some contextually specific knowledge on the part of the individual viewing/hearing/encountering the sign (ibid:93, 96).

In analyses of style as a communicative practice, symbolism has generally been identified (explicitly or implicitly) as the relevant form of signification. In some sense the definition of style has often been predicated on the arbitrary and culturally defined character of signification. This does not, however, necessarily exclude iconic and indexical forms of signification. Although there are examples of icons and indices in which "the connection between sign and referent is natural and necessary" (Knappett 2005:96), the majority of icons and indices, just like symbols, require some situated cultural knowledge on the part of the viewer in order for them to be able to identify the sign's significance. They require that both the observer and the actor interpret them in relation to a more general context of doing. Recognising that material culture might be meaningful in ways not determined by linguistic models, and that style might involve forms of signification other than symbolic ones, is an important step towards a richer understanding of the ways in which people live with and through objects.

Moving away from a textual analogy for material culture also facilitates a shift from the Cartesian duality that Knappett (ibid:3) criticises, and within which thought and material culture are sequestered away from each other, towards a model of material culture generally, and style specifically, as involved not in the *expression* of social relations, cultural meanings, and individual identities, but in their continual *creation*. This brings us to the second point upon which our definition of style requires clarification, namely, how the referencing of one event to broader ways of doing might be used within different social contexts.

An important pitfall to avoid at this point is the perpetuation of what Archer (1988, 2005) terms the myth of cultural integration and the fallacy of the central conflation. Archer (2005) argues that anthropologists, and by extension archaeologists, have created a restrictive frame for examining culture by assuming that "the constituents of culture should be presumed to be coherently integrated, rather than harbouring ideational contradictions … [and] that all members share a 'common culture'" (ibid:18). This model makes it difficult to separate the cultural system from the socio-cultural interaction which creates it and which it moulds, and analysis often ends in one or the other of these (either the cultural system or socio-cultural interaction) being rendered the epiphenomenon of the other. If the cultural system is prioritised, people become subordinated, unable to use or transform the system within which they are enmeshed (ibid:21). If socio-cultural interaction is prioritised, the cultural system becomes a tool (ideology) created and used by the powerful to maintain their status (ibid:22). Archer suggests, however, that it is possible to accept "that human agents shape culture, but are themselves culturally moulded, *without* eliding the two levels" (ibid:23 emphasis in the original). Archer's argument is that the cultural system and socio-cultural interaction can be separated and analysed because although the two are intimately entangled, they have independently analysable features and interactions. Specifically, the cultural system can be seen as a source of power because of its internal logics and contradictions, rather than either a passively absorbed and reproduced cultural ambience, (ideology). "At any given moment, the C.S. [cultural system] is the product of historical S-C [socio-cultural] interaction, but having emerged (cultural emergence being a continuous process) then *qua* product, it has properties but also powers of its own kind" (ibid:25). These powers are mostly related to the extent to which the cultural system enables and constrains "the ideational projects of people" (ibid:25), facilitating or impeding interpersonal influence by making it possible for people to perpetuate specific myths, uphold specific principles, or "become rich in symbols" (ibid:25). This socio-cultural interaction can in turn result in the further elaboration of the cultural system. This framing of the relationship between agents and the cultural system, of which style is one aspect, allows us to consider the dialectic of stylistic events and interpretations without becoming sucked into the endless cycle.

What, then, are the 'ideational projects of people', the uses to which style is co-opted and which Archer sees as being constrained and enabled by the cultural system? In Archer's terms these projects are predominantly concerned with interpersonal influence and, it is implied, the pursuit of power. Although an important consideration in any analysis of social activity, power, and the machinations of those pursuing and exercising it, is not the primary locus of interest in this project. The activities within which the material of this study is enmeshed are about far more than the attainment or demonstration of status and power. They relate to the construction of identities, the experience of emotion, and the creation of communal structures of memory. An important and defining portion of these activities was the process through which monuments moved from the alienable context of the market and became inextricably linked to the lives and deaths of specific individuals, a process that has been covered in detail by studies of consumption, and therefore deserves our consideration here.

Consumption

Consumption has been a central feature of material culture studies for nearly 30 years, and is a concern here because all of the monuments in this study were purchased from a producer. As this material was at some points undeniably located within commercial relationships and the object of market mechanisms and values, it is prudent to face this directly and ask what, exactly, this involvement meant and did not mean for the subsequent significance of the material both for its owners and for others. There has been a strong tendency amongst archaeologists to interpret 19th-century commemorative material as meaningful in terms of social status, and although this has extended to the reading of monument forms in symbolic, ideological terms, it relates primarily to the perception of these objects as indices of wealth, as defined by their origins in the market. Taking consumption into account in relation to commemorative material need not be a reiteration of this perception, but rather an interrogation of it.

Consumption is generally presented as a modern and (originally) western phenomenon. Commodities, exchange, and barter have much deeper roots and are discernible in a much broader range of contexts (Appadurai 1986), but consumption and consumer culture are most often discussed in relation to the past two or three centuries, starting in Europe and eventually metamorphosing into the globalised market culture of today. The emergence of modern consumption is often pegged to the 18th-century development of manufacturing technology, the growth of 'non-essential' 'luxury' goods, and the separation of work and domestic settings, which permitted the conceptual separation of production and consumption (Campbell 1987; Graeber 2011:492). The definition of the term is, however, very broad, and is seldom synonymous with either the *consumption* of material in a literal sense, i.e. destroying or exhausting something, or with the act of purchasing. Rather than being defined as a specific area of activity, consumption has become a much wider concept, "a key mechanism for meaningful engagement with the world … blend[ing] with cultural activity and cultural meaning as a whole" (Cook 2011:162). The breadth of this definition, which effectively includes any activity involving manufactured products (except for production or exchange) (Graeber 2011:491), is problematic because it means that events as diverse as "selecting a bonnet, borrowing a book from a circulating library, buying a print, going to a dance or furnishing a house, are lumped together unproblematically to constitute a single category, that of 'consumption'" (Campbell 1994:31). The question then becomes whether such a broad category can offer insight into these diverse practices which does not reduce their significance to their position within the economic scheme. Why, Graeber (2011:491) asks, "does the fact that manufactured goods are involved in an activity automatically come to define its very nature?"

The position taken here is that identifying practices as involving consumption does not necessitate reducing them to their economic values. Instead, it can offer a way of conceptualizing the process by which materials once defined by market values may move out of the market and into alternative regimes of value that enable those materials and the practices they are constituted within to gain alternative and important significances. The categorization is *not* intended to give economic structures of value primacy, but to offer a way of bracketing them so that they do not obscure the other meaningful aspects of practices within which they play a role.

The problem with this approach is that many models of consumption are predicated on the existence of consumers whose engagement with material culture is structured by their rational assessment of its value as ascribed by the market, both in directly economic terms, and within a hierarchical social framework underpinned by those terms. Miller (1995:13) describes this consumer (who is for him, as they are here, an unashamed straw man) as an "individual who makes(s) a choice of goods based on particular functional requirements, exercising rational decision-making techniques to maximize his or her self-interest so that the choices made represent individual needs". Early on in discussions of consumption, Veblen (1857-1929) also credited consumers with extending their self-interest into efforts at improving social standing through the emulation of the consumer habits of their social betters, whose status is defined largely by wealth (Campbell 1987:18; 1994:24, 30).

This model has persisted in many subsequent analyses and was persuasively expanded and reframed by Bourdieu (1984) in his work on distinction and taste. Bourdieu (ibid:6) saw taste as a classificatory framework that varied between social groups; "[t]aste classifies, and it classifies the classifier. Social subjects, classified by their classifications, distinguish themselves by the distinctions they make, between the beautiful and the ugly, the distinguished and the vulgar". These classifications are seen as arising from class specific habitus, with habitus being the "unconscious disposition to specific forms of practice" (Friedman 1994:10), and class groups being broadly equated with occupational identities (ibid:9). The material, from food to art, which individuals choose to consume, is therefore seen as the consequence of their social status although, unlike Veblen's model, there is no sense of an absolute social ranking system. This is because economic capital and cultural capital are conceived of as separate – although sometimes mutually exchangeable – so that increasing one's economic capital does not automatically afford an increase in cultural capital, the latter being the "trappings of society associated with education, knowledge of high culture, proficiency in the arts and literatures etc." (ibid:9). There remains in Bourdieu's work, however, the assumption that individuals will attempt to accumulate both cultural and economic capital, meaning that consumption is effectively reduced, again, to the pursuit of increased social status (ibid:9). Furthermore, the pursuit of cultural capital through the adoption of tastes defined by "'taste makers' and their affiliated experts who dwell at the top of society" (Appadurai 1986:32), and the concomitant rejection of cultural consumption practices associated with lesser groups, "implies an affirmation of the superiority of" (Bourdieu 1984:7) those groups associated with the former and will therefore "fulfil a social function of legitimating social differences" (ibid:7).

Although Bourdieu's model did not present taste as a conscious social strategy, it did place taste in a socially legitimating role, thereby affording it a potentially important role in the maintenance of ideological control. This interpretation of taste is not, however, necessarily helpful in attempting to treat seriously specific practices associated with the exercise of taste. Hennion (2005:132), in his work on the development of taste and the attachments between people and things that this involves, criticizes Bourdieu's approach for treating those developing taste (amateurs) as passive, either as "cultural dupes" or "the passive subject of an attachment, the real determinants of which are unknown to her and, despite her resisitance, are revealed in cold statistics". In this model, Hennion argues (ibibd:132), "[t]aste is culture's way of masking domination", which is a frustratingly reductive approach to the practices and materials involved. The alternative that he proposes is to refocus analysis on "the pragmatic and performative nature of cultural practices" (ibid:132) and, following Baxandall's (1972) conception of the period eye, on the "co-formation of a set of objects and the frame of their appreciation" (Hennion 2005:134). Hennion's approach has the benefit of reorienting analysis towards the practices and features of the tasting process, treating them as a valid subject of analysis rather than the epiphenomenon of more powerful and interesting forces.

Treating the myriad practices of which consumption is comprised as worthy subjects of study in their own rights stands as a rejection of approaches that reduce consumption to a means of mapping social identities. Much as stylistic variation was considered for some time to be an unproblematic correlate of group identity (defined in a variety of ways), so too have studies of consumption fallen into this trap. “Such is the power of commerce to produce social maps based on the distinctions between goods that actual consumers are relegated to the passive role of merely fitting themselves into such maps by buying the appropriate signs of their ‘lifestyle’” (Miller 2006:343). Miller’s (1982) approach, although initially endorsing an emulative model, has moved away from Veblen and Bourdieu, and, like Hennion (2005), offers an alternative to treatments of consumption that prioritise its relationship with social structure.

Miller (1987:175) argues that consumption is a process by which people create and recognise themselves, through which the subject becomes and knows his/her self. Although he recognises that the economic status of an individual or group will affect their capacity to purchase certain objects, it does not limit their ability to creatively engage with the material realm through consumption practices. His emphasis is not on the determination of consumption practices by social or economic status. In his volume on household objects he describes the futility of such an approach; “most of the diversity that is found in this book does not reduce to sociological categories or labels, or for that matter to colloquial categories or labels … life is overdetermined’ (Miller 2008:192). Instead, he focuses on consumption as objectification, a means by which subjects create themselves through processes of exernalisation and reappropration (Miller 1987, Myers 2001:20). In this frame, consumption constitutes the experience and affirmation of a subject’s self and identities and Miller (1987) describes how, in using consumption in this way, people, and their material worlds, are not reduced to a bleak reiteration of economic and social status, but are the antithesis of this. His description of this is worth quoting at length:

> *"The moment after purchase, when the vast morass of possible goods is replaced by the specificity of the particular item… This specificity is usually related to a person, either the purchaser or the intended user, and the two are inseparable; that is, the specific nature of that person is confirmed in the particularity of the selection, the relation between this object and others providing a dimension through which the particular social position of the intended individual is experienced. This is the start of a long and complex process, by which the consumer works upon the object purchased and recontextualises it, until it is often no longer recognisable as having any relation to the world of the abstract and becomes its very negation, something which can be neither bought nor given*". (ibid:190)

This process, by which material once valued according to the market becomes the *negation* of this valuation, moving out of this regime of value and into another, is of interest here. In studies of commemorative material like that found in this volume, economic value has often been permitted to linger as the primary determinant of significance in analysis. This overlooks the work described above through which the meaning of the material within an abstract system of value is occluded, or even effaced by being altered into something which has a unique set of meanings as a result of its relationship with a specific person. Monuments, once purchased, become very much connected to their user(s), become something which have a special relationship with a subject (Myers 2001:4), although it would not be accurate to describe them as 'terminal commodities', as Appadurai (1986:23) does, because there remains the possibility of them re-entering the market, for example via the theft and sale of funerary statuary and bronzes, which has been a significant problem in some cemeteries.

Consumption, then, need not entail the reduction of activities involving the purchase of goods or services to a passive signalling of identity. Nor does it mean that all activities involving manufactured goods are in some way *the same*, defined by their role as the necessary correlate to production, as Graeber (2011:489) claims. Instead, it means recognising that although the involvement of the market does affect the capacity of individuals to make certain decisions, it does not determine their choices or define the uses to which they put this material. These uses are integral to the creation and experience of the self and the location of the self in relation to others, and, following Hennion (2005), are involved in the development of specific forms of experiencing and engaging with the world and with others. In relation to the commemorative material with which this study is concerned, the purchasing of monuments was involved in the creation of communities of taste and practice, and the experience of not only social identity, but also the experience and negotiation of strong emotions.

Emotion

Models of consumption have always grappled with the question of desire. The expansion in manufacturing in the 18th century would have had no market if no one had wanted to purchase the new objects which were being produced, and if there had not emerged, simultaneously, a modern consumer who, rather than saving or translating surplus wealth into leisure, would use it to satisfy new wants (Campbell 1987:18). As was suggested earlier, Veblen ascribed this drive to consume to the drive to emulate the rich, but this argument is problematic because, as Campbell (ibid:32) points out, much of the new consumption was taking place in the emerging middle classes, and this group had a less than straightforward relationship with the aristocracy. Campbell (1994:37) rejects models of desire and action which assume that the motivations people feel and articulate are illusory, and simply a mask for the *real* determinants of their behaviour. Instead, he (Campbell 1987) argues that the development of modern consumer culture must be considered in relation to the changing emotional and ethical framework of the period, with the rise of romantic love and its coexistence with the apparently contrasting Protestant work ethic. Campbell (1987:9; 1994:29, 33) searches for the motives and goals that engender action, the hopes, fears and wishes of a person which can only be understood within the ethical and emotional structures of the period, although he acknowledges that we should expect neither rationality nor a clear 1:1 ratio between motives and actions. Consequently, he does not treat the rapidly shifting fashions of the 19th century, and the attendant rate of consumption, as the result of an “ingenious and exploitative retailing device" but as a "major socio-aesthetic phenomenon indicative of the central values of a modern society" (Campbell 1987:13). Like Miller and Hennion, Campbell (1994:37) takes the practices associated with consumption seriously and in the absence of indications otherwise, treats them on their own terms.

Campbell's (1987; 1994) emphasis on considering consumption as relating as much to emotional frameworks as to economic ones complements Miller's description of the processes through which an object becomes a unique and specific possession, the negation of its past position within the abstract valuation of the market. This process involves the experience of the self, yes, but it also involves working on an object so that it has emotional significance, so that it *can be neither bought nor given*. The movement of objects in and out of different regimes of value involves the construction of specific emotional experiences. This is particularly clear in the purchasing of commemorative material.

Analyses of emotion by anthropologists, psychologists, and cognitive scientists have a tendency towards the polemic, emphasising either 'emotion as bodily feeling' or 'emotion as cultural meaning' (Leavitt 1996). The former approach sees emotions as a basic human trait, arguing that 'basic emotions are transcultural and that, while they may be nuanced in different ways in different societies, at core they must be biologically determined and always the same' (ibid:518). A culture might have different triggers for specific emotional states, or impose different restrictions and parameters on their expression, but beneath this, the emotions experienced by individuals in different cultures would be the same (Tarlow 2000:715). Effectively, this means that there is an impenetrable barrier between culture and emotion; the words, gestures, and practices associated with emotion can only ever refer to an untouchable and pre-existing internal state, not alter it. This extreme interpretation has mostly been abandoned, at least partially as a result of anthropological studies that have demonstrated that far from being a straightforwardly referential process, the description and expression of emotion in different societies shapes how these are experienced and understood. As Abu Lughod and Lutz (1990:10) put it, "emotion talk must be interpreted as being *in* and *about* social life rather than veridically referential to some internal state". At this end of the spectrum emotions are considered as social phenomena, and it is their cultural meanings that provide the focal point of research. Their physicality, which is so difficult to discuss without being faced with our shared biology, is often left to one side.

Leavitt has argued that the reason for this polarisation is that even though most people would acknowledge that their experience of emotion is both bodily and cognitive, feeling and meaning, the Cartesian division of mind and body lingers in Western academic thought and makes it difficult to think through the intertwining of the two. The universal biological body feels, whereas meaning is the prerogative of the culturally specific mind. Emotions, involving both, and being at once a universal and culturally specific trait, transgress this division of the world. To experience emotion is to "have a feeling associated with a meaning" (Leavitt 1996:515), and so, emotions are "hard to think" (ibid:517).

A positive attempt to encompass both the embodied experience of emotions and the cultural structures through which these are created is Reddy's (1997) concept of emotives. These are emotional statements that, he argues, are neither constative (veridically referential, in Abu Lughod and Lutz's [1990] terms) nor performative. For example, "when someone says, 'I am angry,' the anger is not the utterance – not in the way that, in 'I accept,' 'accept' is the acceptance" (Reddy 1997:331). Rather, they attempt to describe an internal state and in doing so, change that state. The term offers a route for tracing the interplay between the performance of emotion and its internal experience which does not expect these to be necessarily identical, but does not become preoccupied with the potential difference, instead construing this variable gap as the space in which change occurs (ibid:334). Reddy (2001:31) later likened emotions to overlearned cognitive habits: "they are involuntary (automatic) in the short run in the same sense that such cognitive habits are, but may similarly be learned and unlearned over a longer time frame". This gives a further insight into how he sees emotions as residing in the blurred area where we once believed there to be "neat dividing lines between conscious and unconscious, supraliminal and subliminal, controlled and involuntary processes" (ibid:31). Reddy's (1997; 2001) reading of emotions as constituted through emotives is not without problems; most significantly, his earlier approach suggested an ideologically homeostatic role for emotives in controlling some kind of dangerous reservoir of universal emotions. Regarding Paxtun women's expressions of grief he says "this is not culture creating grief but convention promoting certain emotives over others because, over time, these emotives strongly influence individual emotion in a manner that allows for stability and ideological comprehensibility in a community's life" (Reddy 1997:334, discussing Grima 1992). It is, however, a useful way of thinking about emotions as experienced within the body, and yet only comprehensible in terms of the structures of meaning within a specific culture.

For archaeologists, taking emotion into account is important for a number of reasons, not least because, as was indicated earlier, desires, and therefore emotional frameworks, necessarily underpin all models of human activity as they determine why one line of action might be preferred over another. Tarlow (2000:718) expands on this, arguing that because emotion is so central to understanding "volition and motivation", and is such an integral part of human experience, it is implicated, whether we wish it to be or not, in our discussions of people in the past. It therefore requires our "critical awareness" (ibid:718) in order to avoid unintentionally applying our own, culturally and historically specific emotional expectations and experiences onto people whose emotional landscape might be quite different. Perhaps most importantly, factoring emotion into our analysis matters if we wish to credit people in the past with being "complex, feeling, thinking humans and not automata responding to situations in predetermined ways" (ibid:718).

The injunction against casually allowing our emotional categories to slip into analysis does not only apply to the distant archaeological past, or cultures outside of the European sphere of influence. Harré and Finlay-Jones' (1987) study of *acedia* in medieval Europe illustrates how an emotion can be embedded within a specific moral order and that when that order disappears, so too does the emotion. *Acedia* was "on the one hand, negligence [of religious duty] (a behavioural matter); on the other, a kind of misery (a matter of feelings). By embedding the negligence in a moral order (one's duty to God), an emotion (acedia) was born" (ibid:221). Stone's (1977) study of family life in England between 1500 and 1800 makes it clear that even in the comparatively recent past the emotional expectations placed on relationships could vary considerably, and Stearns' (1993:23) work warns us to be sensitive to shifts in emotion even over short periods, as "emotional change emerges in sporadic bursts, not consistently in every decade". Overall, then, identity should not be assumed between our own experience of emotion and the meanings that we attach to it and those of people even in the comparatively recent past. This is not to deny the possibility of commonality with past people, but "that commonality might be in areas such as physical perception or in the *capacity and proclivity* for experiencing emotion, though not necessarily in the experience of specific *emotions*" (Tarlow 2000:725, emphasis in the original).

Acknowledging the importance of emotion is especially necessary in the study of commemorative material, as its usage was so closely tied to an emotionally turbulent period. The corollary of the fact that many interpretations of 19th-century commemorative material have been framed in terms of economic and social status is the fact that its role in emotionally significant activities and processes has been underexplored. Tarlow's (1999a) work is a rebuke to this, and set the agenda for placing the emotional significance of commemorative material at the centre of analysis. This requires that we consider emotion not only as entangled with the language and moral or ethical order of a particular group, but also how to investigate emotion through material culture. Just as it is unwise to impose a linguistic frame on stylistic variation, so too would it be inappropriate to describe material culture as relating to emotion in the same way as language does. Objects are not emotives, but some objects, through their use in association with specific emotional states, can indicate the parameters of that emotion; the instances in which it is to be displayed; the terms in which it is presented; the symbols through which it is understood; and its position in relation to different social units. In short, material culture can help in understanding a group's "emotional standards – the 'feeling rules' or 'emotionology' that describes socially prescribed emotional values, and often the criteria individuals themselves use to evaluate their emotional experience" (Stearns 1993:22). This approach can at least help in preventing the projection of our own frames of emotional reference onto the material and crediting past actors with meaningful and motivating emotional lives, even if it does not directly tell us about individual emotional experience. It is possible, however, that by tracing the contextually specific parameters of emotional articulation in particular areas of practice and material culture, we may encounter instances in which a distinctly different emotional experience has given rise to the creation of unusual material. Much as emotion might be experienced in the individual body, its articulation is securely intersubjective, and based on the interactions of individuals and materials within a socially and physically constituted context, within the landscape.

Landscape

None of the concepts discussed thus far can be conceived of as occurring in isolation. The use of style, consumption practices, and even the experience of emotion are all dependent on the interaction of past people, and their awareness of what other people were doing and feeling (if only in terms of their expression of emotion). These are all strongly social practices, and in the context of commemorative practice, their culmination was the gradual construction of unique landscapes. These landscapes were not only the result of commemorative practice, they constituted the (continually changing) frame of reference for those practices. It was within these landscapes that people interpreted the stylistic variation of memorials, and made decisions about their own monument forms. It was here that each monument, having been purchased, became intimately woven into the biographies of families and individuals, and in a sense an extension of them. It was here that the terms in which loss was expressed could be encountered, compared, and evaluated, and sentimental empathising could be indulged in.

Contemporary guidebooks to the more elaborate 19th-century cemeteries may have catered for the more engaged end of the spectrum of visitors, but they clearly indicate that the monumental landscape was considered in these three central ways: as being constituted of distinct architectural styles and elements with a variety of significances and articulating a variety of taste; as primarily meaningful not in relation to cost, but as a result of their connection to specific individuals; and gaining further value from their display and eliciting of sentiments, which could be judged in relation to contemporary emotional and moral standards (see Clark 1842; Blanchard 1843; Buchan 1843; Blair 1857; Justyne 1865; 1873). For example, Clark (1843:85) claims that "[o]n entering the Cemetery [Kensal Green], the visitor … will be equally gratified and surprised at the various styles of architecture, which have originated in the differing tastes of surviving relatives". Blanchard (1843:13) comments on the forms of a large number of monuments in Kensal Green Cemetery, sometimes interpreting the significance of the form in symbolic terms, as in his description of broken columns; "a column, rising in strength and snapped midway – the sudden cessation of life in its prime and vigour – cut off where its ties were strongest, and the pride of health gave promise of length of days. There are several of these in the Cemetery". At other times Blanchard (ibid:18) casually ascribes religious significance to certain monuments, without detailing their forms, as when he describes some small and 'affecting' monuments as "evidently Catholic".

More frequently, however, guidebooks were concerned with monuments as mementoes of specific individuals or relationships. This often meant including extensive biographies of public figures, but it also involved descriptions of monuments to private individuals as "tributes of affectionate remembrance" (Blair 1857:7), marking "the spot, where lies the object dear to surviving relatives" (Clark 1843:33). These objects were recognised as important elements within highly personal and emotional events, and were often taken as heartening reminders of human love; "In nothing, perhaps, are the virtues of the human heart shown in brighter colours than in the manner in which we cherish the memory of departed friends" (Buchan 1843:26). The effect of encountering a landscape constructed out of such tokens of affection was thought to "pour balm on the troubled heart" (Blanchard 1843:2) and comfort the dying, while also acting as *memento mori* (Buchan 1843:33).

The expression of emotion on memorials was not, however, treated as the unquestioned prerogative of the bereaved, and could face censure if it deviated from what the particular author felt to be the correct sentiments, especially in the wording of inscriptions. Clark (1843:55) is particularly harsh in his admonition of some parents who had inscribed on their child's grave: "An only and idolised child, born …. Died … to the inexpressible sorrow of his unhappy parents". Clark (ibid:55) implies that this expression of affection was religiously improper; God "cannot behold with indifference the affection, which is chiefly due to himself, engrossed by the fairest created object. Such misplaced, inordinate attachment almost solicits the rod of correction, and, unknowingly, asks the deprivation of the idol". This was unusually stern, and clearly connected with Clark's background in religious instruction (he was also the author of volumes entitled *Meditation, with Self-examination, for every Day in the Year*, and *The Christian walking in the Path of Tribulation*). Others, like Blanchard (1843:5), were less critical, even when they found fault in terms of religious propriety or taste; "if rapturous affection sometimes run[s] into eccentricity, who can help pitying while they smile!"

Clearly the evaluation of monuments, the significance of their forms, the propriety of the emotions they displayed and the sentiments they elicited took place within a broad framework of cultural meanings which extended far beyond the walls of the burial ground. However, the space within those walls comprised the primary point of reference for understanding the form and meanings of commemoration, especially as those practices changed during the 19th century, with the opening of burial spaces that facilitated permanent commemoration and the elaboration of the memorial production industry increasing the available range of forms and materials. The erection of monuments was not just a private, individual act; it was undertaken in reference to the existing monumental body and added to that body, making it a social and shared practice, with a communally constructed outcome in the form of a unique burial landscape.

The landscape is hardly a new concept or a new scale of analysis in archaeology, but, like style it is a concept that was used uncritically for a long time and has subsequently faced issues of definition because of the range of uses and meanings it has had. Also like style, the simultaneously physical and social character of the concept of landscape has led to it being pulled in conceptually distinct directions, on the one hand by those who conceive it as an "environment that has an existence independent of those who live in it" (Layton and Ucko 1999:1), and on the other by those who see it as socially constructed, the "cultural image" used by a group as a way of "structuring or symbolising [their] surroundings" (ibid:2). Most approaches recognise both elements within landscape, and in the past 30 years or so several concepts have been developed in relation to the conception of landscapes that are of interest here, including the exploration of landscapes as palimpsests of multiple pasts, the idea that they are never 'finished' but are instead involved in an ongoing and mutually constitutive relationship with people, and thirdly, that they should be understood through the paradigm of bodily engagement.

To take the last of these first, it is not assumed here that the human body provides a basis of shared experience from which the meanings of particular landscapes in the past can be drawn (Tilley 1994). Rather, a consideration of the bodily experience of moving through the landscape is sought as a corrective to the mapped view of the landscape, which through its exteriority loses the possibility of capturing the landscape as encountered from within, by someone moving through the space as it is divided and organised by paths, trees, monuments, buildings and walls into mutually hidden areas, distinct views, and inaccessible corners, which shift as people and other processes act within the site, putting up monuments, growing leaves, losing leaves. Trifković's (2008) work on viewsheds and taskscapes in the Iron Gates (of the Danube) informs this approach, which seeks to integrate "culturally defined agents" into the landscape (ibid:269), so that the two scales of analysis become "mutually defining" (ibid:270).

The importance of considering the relationship between the active individual and the landscape is also emphasised in Ingold's (2000:198) approach to landscapes as living processes, formed alongside taskscapes. Tasks are described by Ingold (ibid:295) as the "constitutive acts of dwelling", which take their meaning from being part of taskscapes, which he calls "an ensemble of tasks, performed in series or in parallel, and usually by many people working together" (ibid:195). These taskscapes are embedded within "the current of sociality" (ibid:195) and it is through this unending activity that the landscape is created, continually, as the embodied form of the taskscape (ibid:198). The temporality of this conception of the landscape, which sees it not as permanent or fixed but as constantly changing, resonates with the continually emergent cemetery landscape, which can be seen as the "congealed form" (ibid:199) of the commemorative tasks which are undertaken there.

Time is therefore inscribed into the cemetery landscape, which can be seen as a palimpsest of multiple pasts and as imbued with significance through its evocation of memories. Olivier (2004) describes the past and the present as being entangled in the material world, with the present consisting of the remains of the past. He argues that because of this, each period is constructed out of fragments from multiple pasts, more or less distant (ibid:212), and that the material of each period – and therefore of archaeology – is "memory recorded in matter" (ibid:209). Bailey (2006) describes the products of these kinds of materially co-existing pasts as palimpsests. For Bailey (ibid:203), palimpsests do not necessarily retain traces of more distant pasts, as they may involve the total erasure of all activity save the most recent, but in most instances this erasure is incomplete, meaning that the palimpsest is created by "the accumulation and transformation of partially preserved activities, in such a way that the resulting totality is different from and greater than the sum of the individual constituents".

Considering 19th-century cemeteries, the palimpsest nature of these landscapes is clear. These sites were created gradually, their overall character more than the sum of the individual constituents, with each monument adding to the assemblage, and also destroying some element of the previously existing incarnation of the landscape, interrupting a line of site, obstructing a path, or concealing other monuments. The landscape as a whole is constituted of the memories of multiple individuals and families who built their losses into the site. In another, more abstract sense, the architectural forms used for monuments render these sites palimpsests; they may not literally be from these periods or places, but through their forms they bring into the present a variety of pasts, both local and distant, from the European medieval period, to ancient Egypt. Conceptually as well as literally, these sites are palimpsests of countless pasts.

The aim here is to treat cemeteries as having been continually constructed over the entire period of study. This construction involved myriad individually significant events and materials, each of which was the result of an act of interpreting the styles and usages of the already existing monuments. Further, although these monuments were purchased through the market, they cannot be reduced to the value placed on them by that regime of value as each became uniquely significant to their owners through the practices in which they were involved and the work done to them, so that they ceased being interchangeable commodities. This work – starting with the emotional work of bereavement, the choice of the site, the commissioning of the form, the preparation of the foundations, the erection and inscription of the stone, the visits paid, the plants planted, and the flowers left (and somewhere in this sequence usually involving the burial of a body) – comprised a taskscape of interlocking activities, repeated for hundreds of monuments and hundreds of deaths, which created a landscape that was a palimpsest of all of these moments and meanings, the embodiment of these ways of dwelling (as Ingold [2000] would have it). These tasks, like the cultural system described by Archer, moulded, enabled, and constrained the projects of individual people. When these taskscapes became embodied in the landscape, that landscape became able to shape people just as it was shaped by them, teaching them how to commemorate the dead, how to mourn, maybe even how to feel, and certainly providing a context and resource for the recognition of the self and others, including the dead.

These various theoretical frameworks provide the structure within which this project was undertaken, and inform the approach to the material presented below.

Chapter 3 Historical and social context.

Having just emphasised the importance of seeing the cemetery landscape as the primary frame of reference for commemorative practices, we now pivot to consider the broader contexts within which these activities and places were set and which also constituted important frameworks within which monuments were made meaningful by those who erected and visited them. These include the 'emotionology' of the period, as Stearns would call it, as well as the eschatological, and therefore religious, beliefs of the time. They also comprise more quantifiable practices, such the disposal of the corpse, the organisational settings of burial, mourning practices and the materials associated with them. As we are concerned specifically with the use of monuments, it is also worth considering the architectural landscape of the period, which was, as the earlier mention of 19th-century architectural criticism indicated, laden with significance and riven by disagreement.

Before embarking on this survey it should be noted that in spite of encouraging titles like *The Victorian Celebration of Death* (Curl 1972), it has become clear that neither the emotional and religious meanings associated with death, nor the articulation of these with specific practices and materials, can be characterised as a single *way* of death during the 19th century. Change and debate were more characteristic features of death practices in this period than consistency and agreement. Even within the broad church of Protestantism, conceptions of heaven varied significantly synchronically and shifted over time (Wheeler 1990; Jalland 1996; Rugg 1999; Tarlow 1999a; 1999b). How people felt, or rather, at the risk of slipping into empathetic projection, the terms in which they framed, and the practices via which they performed, their emotions, were equally subject to change and variation, as emotional style intersected with both religious and secular factors (Stone 1977:677). The expectations placed on the bereaved, in terms of their comportment and habiliment were varied and changing too, as mourning clothes and jewellery became established classes of material culture and lynchpins of specialist industries, and the restrictions on the social life of the bereaved – especially women – waxed and waned (Schor 1994; Stearns and Knapp 1996; Jalland 1999; 2002). The contexts in which burial and commemoration were undertaken changed equally radically between the beginning and end of the century, as the established Church lost its virtual monopoly on bodily disposal and the recycling and sharing of plots by non-family members became less accepted, although the extent to which joint-stock and burial board cemeteries really represented a challenge to Church authority has been heavily questioned by Rugg in recent years (Rugg 2013a; 2013b; Rugg *et al* 2014). Demographic changes affected the experience of death too, as changes in mortality rates meant the typical experience of death shifted across the century (Jalland 1996:5-6) and affected the emotional ties of families (Stone 1977:679; Stearns and Knapp 1996:134).

Furthermore, this variation and change was the subject of considerable discussion and disagreement during this period and the resulting discourse has provided ample material for historical studies: from advice manuals for the bereaved to religious tracts regarding the proper way to die; from published and performed sermons regarding exactly what could be expected after death to government legislation and guidance on how to organise burial. It is worth recalling, when making any narrative regarding what death, bereavement or commemoration *meant* in this period, that little in this field went without discussion, encouragement, and criticism; it was a contested field. Tarlow (1999a:122) notes that what we might consider to be the archetype of Victorian mourning, comprising elaborate funerals, monuments, and mourning culture had only a brief heyday, lasting "only thirty or forty years", but it should be noted that even in this period it was not ubiquitous, unquestioned, or static. As Stone (1977:678) says of the periodization of emotional and ethical structures: "the beginnings of each new phase are already visible even before the existing phase reaches its apogee or signs of the preceding phase have entirely faded away". This is perhaps inevitably the case when considering an arena of activity and experience comprised of such varied and disparate elements, many of which were changing at different paces, not in isolation, but not in synchrony either. To borrow Kubler's (1962:33) image of the structure of formal sequences of art objects, we can imagine that, "in cross section let us say that it [the sequence] shows a network, a mesh, or a cluster of subordinate traits; and in long section that it has a fibre-like structure of temporal stages, all recognisably similar, yet altering in their mesh from beginning to end". Rather than being a set of material traits, however, our fibre would consist of both material and conceptual elements; from coffins and mourning cards to evangelicalism, familial structure, burial provision, and funeral architecture. Unravelling the interrelation of these strands is challenging, but there has been considerable work on most areas of interest by historians using primary sources such as personal correspondence and business records, which facilitates the establishment of narrative and chronology, albeit with the above caveats regarding variability across both space and time.

Eschatology

Secularisation?

Secularisation has been a common theme in attempts at delineating changes in the beliefs and practices surrounding death in the 19th century. Rugg made this case strongly, citing four features that indicated a secularising trend in this sphere of activity in the second half of the 18th and the first half of the 19th centuries. These factors were the medicalization of death, the loss of the established Church's monopoly on burial control, a broader reduction in the influence of the established Church, and the commercialisation of mourning and commemorative practices.

Rugg (1999:203-4) argued that the medico-scientific naturalisation of death resulting from the Enlightenment and development of palliative care in the late 18th and early 19th centuries led to the sense that Man, not God, was in control of death. In spite of the fact that doctors remained helpless in the face of most serious conditions, their administration of opiates meant that "at times of death in the family, gratitude to the doctors far outweighed any criticism" (Jalland 1999:240). Jalland (1996:85) points out that in using opiates to ease the pain of the dying, or even render them unconscious, doctors, or those using patent medicines containing opium like *Godfrey's Cordial,* were also implicitly "challenging the Christian belief that death was a test of fortitude in the face of suffering" by removing the need for physical – and if the mind was clouded by the drug – spiritual and psychological, fortitude. The deathbed scene was increasingly defined by the secular figure of the doctor and concerned with the physical, rather than spiritual, state of the dying.

In regard to burial provision, the advent of commercially run cemeteries from the 1830s to the 1850s and the introduction of burial boards in the 1850s was interpreted as a strong indication that the Church of England was losing its near monopoly of burial (Rugg 1998a:44; 1999:221). This loosening of the Church's grip coincided with a boom in the undertaking industry and an increasing emphasis on status display in funerals and permanent commemoration (Litten 1998:9; Rugg 1999:221). Rugg (1999:208) associated this development with a shift from elegiac emphasis of spiritual worth to the stressing of worldly achievement, a Romantic "cult of largely secular sepulchral melancholy" (ibid:211), and the growth of a confident middle class "eager to demonstrate its importance" by adopting the funereal trappings of the aristocracy (ibid:221). The Church no longer controlled the material framing or primary significance of death.

There are, however, significant problems with this narrative of secularisation. Certainly doctors did play an increasing role in the management of death, but many of those pioneering the field of palliative care were fully cognisant of the importance of religious faith and spiritual peace to dying well, even if their interpretation of what this meant differed from that endorsed by the medieval model of the good death that was revived by Evangelicals in the later 18th century. William Munk (1816-1898) worked for many years with the dying and in his 1887 volume on the subject he emphasised the importance of both opiates and religious faith in rendering death as easy as possible, noting that atheists were often more anxious in the face of death than believers (Dowbiggin 2007:45). Munk was recognised by contemporaries as a dedicated Christian (Jalland 1996:85), and even Evangelicals who emulated the older model of the 'good' death, combining physical fortitude with piety, only tended to object to "an excessive use of opium" (ibid:87).

Similarly, the changes in burial organisation that took place from the second quarter of the century onwards are not as strongly secularising as they might initially appear. Rugg's (2013a; Rugg *et al* 2014) more recent work on burial provision in rural Yorkshire and Sheffield has indicated that, although secular organisations became involved in burial provision, burial in Church-owned spaces continued to be the norm until late in the century in many places, both rural and urban (Rugg *et al* 2014:637-8). She (Rugg 2013a; Rugg *et al* 2014:628) also questions the dichotomy that has been created between cemeteries and churchyards, arguing for a more blurred boundary between the two types of spaces and pointing out that even when burial board cemeteries became the norm, many were opened by vestries, perpetuating the central role of the Church in burial organisation (vestries being committees responsible for the religious and secular organisation of each parish, chaired by the local minister and comprised of local ratepayers). It is also clear that even within commercially or municipally run cemeteries, Church authorities might influence the organisation of space. For example, when the Bishop of Winchester objected to the proposed arrangement of the chapels in Southampton Cemetery, the landscape of the site was rearranged (SCCCM 02/03/1844).

Nor did the development of specialist industries surrounding mourning, burial and commemoration, necessarily mean that secular status concerns were deposing religion as the primary frame within which death was understood. As was demonstrated earlier, the origin of materials in manufacturing does not define their subsequent value or significance, as through their usage and the work done to them by their owners they cease to be interchangeable commodities. The involvement of the market does not preclude the possibility of religious significance for the practices surrounding death and mourning. Even if the use of these practices and materials as a form of status display was demonstrated, it would still not preclude the persistence of religion as a guiding force in understanding and navigating death.

Tarlow (1999a:137) has suggested that the tendency to imagine the 19th century as a period of secularisation is due to the over-representation in the historical record of the social group that *was* becoming increasingly secular: the highly educated. This may be the case, but even amongst the educated, there are indications that religion remained a key orienting framework for life and death. Jalland's (1996:9) work on middle and upper class families' attitudes regarding death during the Victorian period involved studying the family papers of "politicians, scientists, clergymen, diplomats, landowners, doctors, and intellectuals", all of which would likely be reasonably well educated. In the face of this material she was "singularly impressed by the depth of piety and spiritual commitment of the majority, at least up to the 1880s" (ibid:3). For a sense of perspective on secularisation in this period, Cecil points out that although rates of church attendance decreased, membership of secularist/rationalist societies did not exceed 6000 at any point before 1900 (Cecil 1991:22). Tarlow (1999a:137) reaches a similar conclusion from her study of Orkney gravestones; "there is no evidence for such a development [secularisation]".

Heaven and Hell

What, then, did death and loss mean in religious terms? Despite the existence of a state religion in the form of the Church of England, the tone and emphasis of religious belief and practice was not consistent through the period; the ebb and flow of Evangelicalism affected even the most orthodox strands of Protestantism (Bebbington 1989:74, Jalland 1996:2) and nonconforming groups (including Congregationalists, Methodists, Tractarians, Unitarians and Quakers) accounted for a significant degree of variation at any one time. In common between members of both the established and non-established churches, however, was concern regarding what Wheeler (1994:3) calls the 'four last things': death, judgement, heaven and hell, although how these were emphasised and conceptualised varied within and between groups as well as over time.

Heaven alone was a fluctuating and contradictory concept in the 19th century, thanks in part to the lack of an explicit description in the New Testament, which meant that a variety of interpretations were theologically defensible, depending on the texts used (ibid:4). Broadly, across the century there was a shift from a theocentric model of heaven to more anthropocentric ones, although the succession of these ideas was far from clear-cut or total, and they tended to be associated with different denominations. The theocentric model of heaven envisaged "a future of eternal praise and veneration of God" (Jalland 1996:267), and was the most commonly held conception of heaven in the first half of the century. Jalland (ibid:267) ascribes the conception of heaven as an eternal Sabbath to Catholics, Anglicans, Tractarians and Evangelicals alike, with only a minority of Nonconformists, such as Congregationalists, adhering to an anthropocentric model in the first half of the century. The latter conception saw heaven not as a site of passive veneration, but a place where the dead would continue their good works and spiritual improvements (ibid:267-8). These contrasting ideas remained a point of dispute between theologians into the later decades of the century, but they were more compatible than the third common conception of heaven in the 19th century, which was the idea that it represented a site of familial reunion.

The problem with the idea of familial reunion is that it is predicated upon a belief that the eternal soul retained memories and identity, without which meaningful reunion would be impossible. As the Bishop of York commented in 1832, however, there were no "*positive* intimations in Scripture" (ibid:273, italics in the original) that any such continuation of identity and memory could be anticipated. This did not prevent the idea of heaven as permanent reunion from gradually taking hold across the middle of the century, possibly because of the comfort that it offered to the bereaved. Early mentions tended to be conditional and oblique, possibly reflecting the concept's theological ambiguity. For example, Clark (1843:65) describes a headstone in Kensal Green Cemetery that commemorates a wife, and ends with the uncompleted lines: "*Her husband endured his heavy affliction until the ___day of ___ 18__, when he entered his __th year*". Clark (ibid:65) interprets this as an indication of "anticipated reunion", and makes no mention of its potentially problematic implications, despite his rigorous chastisement of what he considers religious impropriety elsewhere.

Despite its scripturally ambiguous position, the reunion model gained traction and approval from the 1860's onwards through the publication of volumes such as Revd William Branks' *Heaven our Home* (1861) and the Bishop of Ripon's *The Recognition of Friends in Heaven* (J. W. 1866). Just as earlier articulations of the idea had possibly derived from the comfort it offered, so did its tacit acceptance by some religious authorities, as the Bishop of Ripon acknowledged:

> *"the stream of affections may mingle in with the current of reason and evidence, and give, perhaps, a strong colouring to the belief that we shall know our earthly friends when we meet them in the*

> *heavenly world. … [T]he heart cannot admit, for a moment, the sentiment that we shall never see or know them again".* (J.W. 1866:iii)

Not only was this model more a creation of hope than doctrine, but the emphasis that it placed on the comfort of reunion as the primary source of heavenly joy ran contrary to the theocentric model of heaven as a place of eternal worship. In the latter model of heaven "marriage was not possible and earthly loves were irrelevant" (Jalland 1996:272) because the presence of God provided solace enough. In practice, however, believers were happy to anticipate both comforts. Jalland (ibid:271-272) quotes from a hopeful letter sent by William Sidgwick to his fiancé in 1833 telling her that when they both died he anticipated that their spirits would recognise one another and that "after the day of resurrection both our souls and bodies will be for ever united in glorious presence and possession of Him who died to save us". The laity could more easily admit contradiction, inconsistency, and doctrinally unsanctioned elements into their beliefs than the clergy. Thus, although Jalland's (ibid:270) reading of family correspondence indicates that the theocentric model of heaven was a "constant feature of many Victorian and Edwardian Christian families right up to 1914", the idea of familial reunion was common from the 1830s and from the 1860s heaven was routinely depicted as a markedly domestic environment complete with maintained marriage bonds (Brooks 1989:5; Jalland 1996:273).

Conceptions of hell also varied too. Emphasis on hell and damnation diminished in most areas of Protestantism after the Enlightenment, featuring less heavily in sermons and generally presenting a less terrible aspect (Cecil 1991:20; Rugg 1999:204). This was fortunate as without recourse to purgatory, which had effectively been removed from Protestant theology at the Reformation, the relatives of the deceased were unable, in the face of such terror, to help their loved ones. By the 1860s, "the strategy … was not to frighten sinners into heaven but to beckon them there by promising them more of the good things they had enjoyed in life. So as Hell ceased to be a fiery furnace, Heaven became a cosy fireside where long-lost loved ones congregated" (Hilton

1988, quoted in Jalland 1996:274). The result was that by 1864, only 40% of the Anglican clergy believed that the "damned would suffer everlasting torment" (Cecil 1991:21).

The exception to this diminishment in the horror of damnation was the conception of hell adopted by the Evangelicals. Evangelicalism had been a distinct subset within multiple Protestant denominations since the second quarter of the 18th century, defined by the doctrine of assurance – the certainty that you would be saved if you had faith – and characterised by the preaching of a simple gospel aimed at achieving conversion (Bebbington 1989:42, 74). Personal salvation was key, and fiery damnation stood as its logical counterpoint: if you did *not* have faith, you would *not* be saved, and the horror of hell might be emphasised to encourage conversion (Rugg 1999:215). The Evangelical focus on individual salvation was also central to the resurgence of interest in the *ars moriendi* and the writing of deathbed accounts since death was "the moment when achievement of or exclusion from eternal bliss was decided" (Tarlow 1999a:138). Deathbed accounts became a distinct genre, anthologised and widely disseminated for the betterment of the living (ibid:138). "[T]he conventions of the Evangelical deathbed: the dying words (often laboriously taken down), the beatific smile, the ministering of comforters" (Schor 1994:234) were influential well beyond their immediate sphere, and can be traced in contemporary literature (ibid:234).

Evangelicalism was, however, a dynamic phenomenon, and its influence was therefore varying. During the 18th century it had been associated with the Enlightenment and "reason, not emotion, had been the lodestar of the Evangelicals" (Bebbington 1989:81). During the 1830s, however, under the influence of the charismatic Edward Irving, Evangelicalism adopted the Romantic mode of the period and became the "religion of the heart" (Jalland 1996:4; Rugg 1999:78). Simultaneously, the model of hell favoured by Evangelicals shifted so that by the middle of the century their emphasis on damnation had lessened (Rugg 1999:215). These shifts in Evangelicalism are important because of the breadth of the movement's impact; it was influential in even the most "tenaciously orthodox strands of Protestantism" (Bebbington 1989:74). There were Evangelicals in the established Church as well as within dissenting groups, meaning that there was no single Evangelical identity, making it difficult to quantify it as a phenomenon independent of other religious identities. Jalland (1996:20) identifies its impact as peaking around the middle of the century, when "Evangelicals accounted for over a third of the clergy", before declining from the 1870s as a result of Darwinian evolutionary theory, geological discoveries, and biblical criticism (Jalland 1999:232,339).

The period of this study therefore covers four decades during which conceptions of heaven and hell were both rapidly changing and strongly variable between and within denominations, making it difficult to generalise about exactly where the bereaved believed departed souls resided. The changes and variability engendered by the Evangelical movement were not, however, only important in moulding beliefs regarding the afterlife. They were also, in association with Romanticism, implicated in a loosening of emotional constraint and the arrival of a period of much more open emotional expression, which had significant implications for the framing of bereavement.

Emotion

Religion was central to how death was understood in terms of where the soul would go and the expectations that could be entertained regarding post-mortem reunion, but these beliefs cannot be understood solely in theological terms. They are motivated by love and fear, as the Bishop of Ripon recognised (J.W. 1866:iii), and different social and religious frames encourage different emotional displays; are conducive to the construction of different relationships; and endorse different moral orders (Harré and Finlay-Jones 1986). The Romantic turn of Evangelicalism in the second quarter of the 19th century had significant implications for the emotional lives of its adherents, but must itself be contextualised within broader contemporary developments in the conception of the self, how familial and romantic relationships were structured and understood, and the emotional aesthetics of the period.

Affective Individualism

Ariès (1974:61) noted that the 18th century saw a marked shift in the relationship between the dying and their families, as well as an increased complaisance towards death. Subsequently, Stone (1977:222) framed these changes in terms of the development of Affective Individualism, identifying it as emerging in the final decades of the 17th century amongst the wealthy urban families of merchants and professionals, and subsequently spreading to the landed classes, before "reaching a climax towards 1800". Stone (ibid:222) described this pattern as being comprised of "changes in how the individual regarded himself in relation to society (the growth of individualism) and how he behaved and felt towards other human beings, particularly his wife and children on the one hand, and parents and other kin on the other (the growth of affect)". Individualism, in Stone's (ibid:223-4) framing, meant an increased tendency towards introspection, greater interest in individual personalities, and an emphasis on personal autonomy, privacy, self-expression, and free-will, although these features were bound by a continuing respect for social cohesion and obedience to legitimate authority. These features grew out of the turbulence of the mid-17th century, and the continuing percolation of certain Puritan ideals, including belief in personal conscience and the importance of holy matrimony based on mutual affection, which both ran counter to expectations of filial obedience (ibid:225). Individualism was also articulated with broader changes, including the expansion of the economy, which encouraged possessive individualism (ibid:234), and the growth of the middle classes. It was also tied to developments in popular philosophy that endorsed the pursuit of happiness and pleasure in life, rather than hoping for it in death, which encouraged the pursuit of "both the affective and the sexual pleasure of the individual in marriage" (ibid:236).

The consequences of these changes were far reaching, affecting humanitarian reform and religious toleration, and, one of the most significant in terms of framing bereavement, was the shift within familial relationships away from patriarchal control and towards mutual affection and respect (ibid:239). Loved ones were valued as individuals, and each death was therefore an irreplaceable loss, in contrast to the 16th-century model of life, the Great Chain of Being (ibid:257), in which everyone was bound together and in some sense interchangeable. The loss of a family member therefore became more emotionally significant, and the emotions engendered by it came to be displayed "not only more openly, and more bitterly, but also less ritually, in a more personal, more introspective manner" (ibid:248). As was noted earlier, it can be problematic to equate changes in the *expression* of emotion with changes in the *experience* of emotion. However, although there may not be complete identity between these, it does seem that grief was felt more keenly in this period than it had been a few generations earlier, when the emotional idiom had not encouraged close emotional bonds within the family and there had been no premium placed on awareness of one's inner life (Tarlow 1999a:130).

Romanticism

The open display and frank expression of emotion in the later 18th century was not restricted to grief, and Stone (1977:238) notes that weeping at accounts of cruelty was not unusual for either men or women during this period. This outpouring was not just the result of Affective Individualism, however; it was also encouraged by the development of Romanticism in the second half of the 18th century. Bebbington (1989:81) describes the Romantic mood as stressing, "against the mechanism and classicism of the Enlightenment, the place of feeling and intuition in human perception, the importance of nature and history for human experience". The most striking products of this aesthetic were novels, poems and art, and the effects of these media were widely felt. Romanticism championed violent passion over intellectual analysis, placed great significance on love and death, and, like Affective Individualism, encouraged individuality and the open expression of love (Morley 1971:13-14; Rugg 1999:210).

There was also a morbid tendency within both of these phenomena. The Graveyard poets, who were active around the middle of the 18th century, delighted in the melancholy sentiments associated with graveyards, and signalled the direction that was to be taken by Romanticism in seeing landscapes as promoting the experience of, and reflection on, specific emotions (Rugg 1999:211). By the later 18th century, Romanticism had "developed something like a delight in decay" (Curl 2000:3), especially concerning ruins (Tarlow 1999a:136). This delight did not extend, however, to the decay of the body after death, which was increasingly taboo (Tarlow 1999b): Romantic deaths were beautiful, epitomised by young consumptives and handsome suicidal youths (Rugg 1999:13).

Evangelicalism

The emotionally expressive idiom of Romanticism, which was underpinned by affectionate and permissive familial relationships, held considerable sway through the first half of the 19th century. However, it was complicated by the increasing influence of Evangelicalism from the later 1700s. Stone (1977:667) casts Evangelicalism as a significant driving force for moral reform and sees the family as the "key institution upon which this new moral Puritanism was concentrated". In this Evangelical mould, the intimacy of the family became tainted, transforming it into "a stifling fortress of emotional bonding" (ibid:669) as the relationship between parents and children became characterised more by discipline and punishment than by affection. This discipline was in response to a resurging belief in the essential sinfulness of children, requiring that parents educate their offspring strictly if they did not wish them to burn in hell (ibid:669). Stone is dystopian regarding the family life and emotional landscape of the 19th century middle classes:

> *"The general picture is one of severe family discipline, flourishing in Scotland and London over thirty years before Queen Victoria came to the throne, at a time when other upper-class families were still clinging to the permissive and affectionate late eighteenth-century mode. Its basic objectives were the old seventeenth-century ones: crushing the will and assisting learning with blows".* (ibid:671)

Stone (ibid:668, 671) sees the reversal as almost total, with wives increasingly cast as slaves to convention, subjects of their husbands' wills. Simultaneously, the open expression of emotion diminished and emotional control became the hallmark of manliness: "emotionalism was a weakness left to women" (ibid:673). Overall, "[t]he most valued of Victorian characteristics was respectability, which took the form of moral asceticism, buttressed by Evangelical piety and reinforced by patriarchy" (ibid:678).

Stone (ibid:677) ascribes this about-face to a fear of social collapse engendered by the French Revolution, but acknowledges that identifying the temporal boundaries of emotionally distinct periods is problematic (ibid:678). The reason for this, he suggests, could be that these emotional and moral regimes are not be newly emergent, but simply represent the resurgence of ideas which have been held continually by some sectors of society (ibid:678).

This framing is appealing as it inherently recognises variation within a broader pattern of changes, but it does make generalising a model of affective ties or emotional expression difficult. Furthermore, Stone does not explore the effect upon Evangelicalism of its encounter with Romanticism, or how the two contrasting emotional ideologies might have coexisted, and it should be noted that his characterisation of Evangelicalism's influence on Victorian mores is at odds with those supplied by other authors. Jalland (1996:19), for example, acknowledges that Evangelicalism influenced the mores of society, engendering a general expectation of "Sabbath observance, responsibility, and philanthropy; of discipline in the home, regularity in affairs" (quoting G. M. Young), but she does not go on to ascribe to these the emotional repression and intra-familial oppression that Stone does, choosing instead to focus on their "cheerful, enthusiastic piety", moral earnestness and *self* discipline (ibid:20, 25).

This disparity is interesting because although Stone's description of Affective Individualism has been repeatedly cited in relation to 19th-century death practices (Jalland 1996, Tarlow 1999a, Steward 2011), these citations tend not to emphasise his comments regarding the emotional repression of the 1800s. It might be that the emotionally open, affectionate, and permissive Romantics are closer to our own sensibilities, and it is easier to empathise with, and populate our accounts with, these kinds of figures than with Stone's repressed and puritanical Evangelicals. As Tarlow (2000:719, 723) notes, the boundaries, value, and theoretical implications of empathy for archaeological work have not been fully explored, and it may be that we have fallen into the trap of wishing to identifying with the subjects of our inquiries.

Mourning Practices and Commemoration

The emotional make-up of the people we imagine as populating the past is centrally important to how we interpret the significance of their activities and what we think these were really *about*. Although these emotional models should be open to evaluation through analysis of contemporary material culture – be it documentary evidence, headstones, or cemetery landscapes more generally – very often this is not the case. Rather, the motivations and emotional drives of past people remain implicit and unexamined, and material is evaluated by reference to these assumed models. If a divergence between the two appears – between the posited interior emotional landscape and its expression – it is the *expression* that is considered aberrant, explained by an appeal to social constraints or ideology. Either that, or the groups responsible for the divergent material or practice are considered emotionally deviant.

For example, in Cannon's (2005) work on commemoration in 19th-century rural Cambridgeshire he assumes that the usage of monuments by men requires no explanation and is a direct articulation of their interior emotional world, which is implicitly construed as identical to our own, while women's usage of memorials is presented as deviating from this norm as a result of a heightened concern for social status. Women are described as being "more prestige conscious" (ibid:50) than men and their commemorative choices are therefore primarily driven by a concern for social status as expressed through fashion. Cannon (ibid:49) therefore accounts for the differential use of what he identifies as prestige monument forms between widows and widowers as resulting from this difference in motivation: "women were more often concerned about the perception of their relative status in the absence of a husband, while men did not perceive the same need or opportunity for status expression on the occasion of their wife's death". While he is correct that the social position of widows was often more precarious than that of widowers (Jalland 1989:176, 178), his argument is problematic as it makes no effort to examine what *widowers'* choices might be based upon if not a concern for prestige. The implication is that the male usage of monuments requires no explanation, is the norm, and is presumably explicable through the application of our own emotional standards. Male practice is therefore the baseline from which female divergence can be measured, and the aberration in female monument usage is ascribed to a combination of social constraints (social vulnerability), and generalisations about gender (women are more status conscious [Cannon 2005:50]).

Cannon's (1989, 2005) interest in commemorative practice lies in its relationship with social status rather than its relationship with the emotional consequences of loss, and is not atypical of studies of 19th-century death culture. The commercialisation of mourning and commemoration is often presented as the justification for this line of analysis, as if the fact that mourning clothes were bought, hearses rented, and monuments commissioned meant that the significance of these was limited to the demonstration of taste and respectability as embodied in conspicuous consumption and the adoption of the heraldic funeral and the use of large monuments. The increasing involvement of commerce in these practices is not disputed here; the specialist undertaking trade underwent a demonstrable boom in the early part of the 19th century (Reeve and Adams 1993:41); joint-stock cemeteries began appearing in the 1830s; and the manufacturing of memorials was mostly in the hands of specialist or semi-specialist companies by the same period. Furthermore, there is good evidence that the material culture involved in mourning and commemoration *did* become more elaborate and expensive during the 19th century. What is disputed is that this necessarily defined the significance of these materials and the practices in which they were involved.

One defence for the interpretation of this material as a display of economic and social status is the censure it faced in contemporary literature. The primary complaint was that undertakers greedily exploited the desire of the bereaved to do their best for the deceased by upselling them the funereal trappings of the aristocracy when this was financially irresponsible and socially inappropriate. It was not the expression of worldly rank in the rituals of death that tended to be the subject of objection, but the use of these rituals and their materials to contravene the hierarchy of the system. Edwin Chadwick's 1843 *Supplementary Report on the Results of a Special Inquiry into the Practice of Interment in Towns* is widely referenced in relation to this as it contains an interview with an undertaker which revealed that even the apparent authority on these matters was himself ignorant regarding the original heraldic symbolism of the funerals he sold. The undertaker confessed that he also believed his clients to be unaware of the significance of the materials and services they purchased, and were guided almost exclusively by his response to their asking for "what is customary" (Chadwick 1843:49).

Contemporary concern regarding this practice was usually couched in terms of the detrimental effect that it had on the bereaved, delaying the funeral until the requisite funds were secured (ibid:48) or pushing a financially vulnerable family – a concern directed predominantly at women – into poverty. Mrs Elizabeth Stone's (1858) account is typical:

> *"It is wrong that this pomp and circumstance be so engrafted on our national habits that the widow, the penniless orphan or sister must cruelly embarrass themselves to obtain the precise vestments which custom dictates, or be supposed to fail in respect to the husband, the father, the brother, whom they loved in their heart of hearts, and to a reunion with whom they look as chiefest hope and comfort".* (Stone 1858:316)

Although this description is sympathetic to the efforts of the bereaved, and frames these efforts not so much in terms of social emulation but in terms of the crushing weight of 'custom' (ibid:316), other commentators were less forgiving of pecuniary imprudence in the pursuit of 'pomp and circumstance' (ibid:316). As a 19th-century correspondent quoted by Morley (1971:23) put it, in death as in life, "there ought to be a consistency in every thing belonging to the various ranks of society".

These contemporary criticisms have been adopted and transformed in recent work on this material. There remains, in some works, a barely-concealed distaste for the expanding use of heraldic trappings. For example, Curl (2000:121), having commented on the practice of keeping the corpse in the family home for an extended period after death, continues; "perhaps even more creepily shocking was the fact that working-class funerals and customs were parodies of those of other classes. For example, the extras provided by undertakers… were really the heraldic array of a baronial funeral, and therefore wholly inappropriate (and therefore absurdly expensive) for the exequies of illiterate members of the proletariat". There remains some sense that the removal of funerary material from its original social context robbed commemoration of its authenticity, and that the use of heraldic funeral material was meaningless if it did not entail the clear and faithful reproduction of its *original* meanings. It is this sentiment that makes it possible to argue that the primary significance of this material is not its use in mourning and commemorative practices, but its use as a means to social betterment. At some point, this shift occurred – from envisaging the bereaved as the unwitting dupes of greedy undertakers, to their depiction as self-interested and savvy social operatives – and commemorative material began being interpreted as evidence of active social aspiration on the part of the bereaved. As Schor (1994:231) put it, "the charade of a full-dress baronial funeral made literal the desire to purchase rank through funeral expense".

As Tarlow (1999a:118) points out, the socially emulative model has been something of an orthodoxy in studies of 19th-century death, referencing Curl and Morley as particular examples. More broadly, these practices have been construed as social displays, not necessarily seeking to improve social status through emulation. Nor did this framing of the material end with the last century, as Cannon's (2005) work demonstrates. A representative articulation of this is Litten's (1991:165) description: "[i]n an age when success was measured by material possessions and monetary wealth, the nineteenth-century funeral was regarded as a public manifestation of one's acumen". It was not just the expense of these materials, however, but also their indication of the taste of the purchaser that was seen as demonstrating status.

Following Bourdieu (1984), this could be seen as a deployment of cultural capital, but it is complicated by the development of distinct and conflicting understandings of what constituted good taste during this period, as well as the rapidity with which distinct fashions in everything from mourning dresses to headstones emerged and were superseded in the 1800s. As was suggested by the earlier discussion of Evangelicalism, and Stone's (1977:678) comments on overlapping and contrasting emotional phases, it is difficult to conceive of the moral regime of this period as sufficiently homogeneous as to endorse a single conception of 'good' taste even over a restricted period of time. There was no single ladder of taste to climb, as is indicated by the ferocity of the debate that raged over the relative merits of Neoclassical and Gothic architecture. Intertwined with this, and further undermining the idea of a single hierarchy of taste and economic power, was the antipathetic relationship between the middle classes and the aristocracy that they were supposedly emulating (Campbell1987:32; Tarlow 1999a:119).

Furthermore, the rapidity with which fashions in mourning and commemoration succeeded each other does not necessarily mean that the outward display of correct taste was the primary concern. Tarlow (1999a:122) argued that the speed of innovation could be interpreted as responding to the desire to differentiate oneself from others, and not an attempt to fit in. Buckham's (2005:150) work on monument forms at York cemetery also suggests this: she notes that at any one time several alternative designs were in use, and these were not selected so as to fit in, but to "reinforce in a material form the individuality of the deceased and to signify the personal sense of loss experienced upon the death of a loved one" (ibid:151).

This brings us back to the importance of the emotional frameworks within which we place this material. Within these latter interpretations, the desire of the bereaved to perpetuate the uniqueness and affection of the lost relationship is credited sufficient motivation for expending effort and money on these goods. The emotions engendered by loss are recognised as the drive behind, and explanation of, these practices. This is in contrast with the implicit assumption made by socially emulative/social display models: that these emotions are *not* sufficient explanation for this material and that other, more powerful motivations (social status) must necessarily be at work.

There is, however, perhaps a middle ground to be found within this discussion. One point worth noting is that although contemporary criticisms were levelled at commemoration when it was deemed inappropriately expensive or transgressive of social hierarchy, these were not necessarily couched in terms that devalued the emotional content of these materials and practices. As Mrs Stone's (1858:316) comments indicate, the observation of appropriate customs was a source of solace. Although his intent was cuttingly ironic, there may have been a grain of truth in the words that Dickens (quoted in Morley 1971:18) gave to Mr Mould the undertaker: "the laying out of money with a well-conducted establishment, where the thing is performed upon the very best scale, binds the broken heart, and sheds balm upon the wounded spirit". In this light, it seems churlish to assume that material ostentation or a concern for observing social expectation was about something other than mourning. Indeed, one of the primary criticisms levelled against elaborate mourning practices at end of the 19th century, when these were already far less common, was that the emotion that it displayed was itself fit for censure. The criticism was that the grief associated with the observation of deep mourning, with expensive and complex funerals, large monuments, and extended grave visiting was useless: "grief has no function, its effort to maintain contact with the departed being foolish at best, unhealthy at worst" (Stearns and Knapp 1996:140).

Certainly, when the specificity of the forms taken by the material culture of mourning and commemoration in this period are examined, it becomes clear that a model prioritising the role of social display/emulation is insufficient for understanding their significance. The metaphors and symbols used in these practices resonate far beyond questions of status, and seem bound up with eschatological hopes and fears and with the desire to articulate and maintain the bonds of the relationship that had been lost. Looking at private diaries in the 19th century Rosenblatt concluded that the "prevailing attempt was to hold fast to the departed loved one" (Stroebe *et al* 1992:1208), and this was arguably the case with mourning and commemoration more broadly.

Metaphors, Symbols, and Mnemonics: the meanings of memorials

The significance of monument forms and decoration is often discussed in terms of symbolism, for example interpreting motifs of particular plants as signifying immortality, purity, or sleep (Willsher 2005:41-45); inverted torches as meaning the extinction of life; and butterflies as representing its brevity (Brooks 2001:217). In reference to the overall forms of monuments, some are icons, as in the case of cruciform monuments, which evoke their Christian associations by dint of their similarity to the cross on which Jesus died. Sometimes forms are seen as embodying specific values through what Knappett (2005:106) would describe as their factorality (the way in which a part may stand for the whole.) An example of this is the way in which ancient monument forms stood for the civilizations that initially created them, thereby creating an association with "the dignity and splendour" of those civilizations (Parker Pearson 1982:106).

All of these forms of signification require specific contextual knowledge on the part of the interpreter (Knappett 2005:93, 96), which should not be assumed. One person might be aware of the association of the poppy with sleep and another might be aware of the origins of the obelisk in ancient Egypt, but to assume that all of those purchasing and encountering this material did is just that: an assumption. It is difficult to assess the knowledgeability of a population. On the one hand Chadwick's (1843:49) undertaker suggests that the symbolic meanings of the materials used around death were often obscure even to those selling them. On the other hand, Harriette Forbes (1927:114) admonishes us for assuming that what is obscure to us was unclear to the people of the past: "what they saw at a glance we understand only by delving below the surface of hunting through some forgotten book". Perhaps it is not necessary to be certain; clearly some individuals applied these (and numerous other) systems of signification to this material, and once a particular form is in frequent use in burial or mourning contexts, it becomes a symbol of commemoration, regardless of what additional associations it might have. This is not a static set of practices, but one capable of bestowing meaning through its gradual unfolding.

One set of associations that is both well attested to and widespread in the 19th century is the use of sleep as a metaphor for death. This was not a new metaphor: 17th century churchyards were "considered to be the dormitories of Christians sleeping, expecting to be raised by the last trumpet" (Cox 1998:122). The 19th century framing of this metaphor was, however, distinct from this earlier iteration. The value of the metaphor lay not so much in the promise of resurrection (waking to the trumpet call) as in the distinctly unthreatening colouring that it lent death. Sleep was familiar and domestic, and its transience dovetailed with the growing belief in heavenly reunion. With the strengthened family relationships that had grown in tandem with the rise of Affective Individualism (and which might have become tainted with discipline and patriarchal control under Evangelicalism but which remained, nonetheless, strong), fear of death was more entangled with fear of the death of the other, than of the self (Ariès 1974:56). Sleep permitted the survivor to maintain a conception of the deceased as existing in the present (Tarlow 1999a:134).

The clearest example of the sleep metaphor is the use of 'fell asleep' as an alternative to 'died' in monumental inscriptions in the later 1800s (ibid:63). Before the 1870s, however, this phrasing is unusual, being much less common than the more direct expression. The Kensal Green sample contains 37 examples of phrases referring to sleep, only twelve of which predate 1870. There are, on the other hand, over 1000 uses of die/died. This was in spite of the fact that, from the 1840s onwards, certain sections of the Protestant community discouraged direct references to death on monuments. The Reverend Carter, who had Ecclesiological sympathies and rejected the use of 'heathen' grave forms, instructed those with "pious and thoughtful minds" (Carter 1842:9) to refer to death by "such terms as departure, rest, or sleep, and not by death" (ibid:14). Although the metaphor of sleep was not necessarily a common part of inscriptions until later in the century, Tarlow (1999a:69; 1999b:189) argues that it was part of the structuring of the grave well before this, citing the bed-like arrangement of head/footstones, and the use of pillows and nightwear in burial.

The appeal of the sleep metaphor as mitigating the finality of death (Stearns and Knapp 1996:137) touches on one of the central roles of commemorative monuments in the 1800s; its importance as means of keeping the deceased present and perpetuating their memory. From a 21st century perspective, grief is mostly felt as a deeply personal and internal process, but is also (somewhat paradoxically) treated as a normative series of phases to be moved through in order to permit the bereaved to sever ties with the dead and re-enter productive society (Stroebe *et al* 1992:1206; Schor 1994:12). The dead are to be left behind, removed from the future. This was not the case in the 19th century, when the affective bonds within families and marriages, and even between friends were conceived of as a "communion of souls… [and] a lifetime commitment" (Stroebe *et al* 1992:1208). "[S]uch breaking of bonds would destroy one's identity and the meaning of life" (ibid:1205).

Efforts to maintain these bonds, and keep the dead in some sense alive are not as alien as it might initially sound. As Hallam *et al* (1999:3) suggest, physical death is not necessarily the same as social death. Survivors might continue to talk to the dead as they go about their daily lives (ibid:147-152), or maintain the material patterns of their existence, as Queen Victoria did by having clean clothes laid out each day for Prince Albert (Hallam and Hockey 2001:92). In its extreme forms such efforts to sustain the dead were considered (then, as now) pathological and unhealthy (Hallam *et al* 1999:4, Stearns and Knapp 1996:140), evidenced by the censure that Victoria faced for her extended mourning (Jalland 1989:174). In less intrusive ways, however, a continuity of presence could be maintained, often through some reference to or relationship with the (deceased) body. Victoria's choice of Albert's clothes as a focal point for the maintenance of his memory speaks to this, and another example is the use of hair-jewellery. Such jewellery "stages the death of its subject and simultaneously (as bodily substance that outlives the body) initiates continuity and acts as a material figure for memory" (Hallam and Hockey 2001:136, quoting Pointon 1999).

Like hair-jewellery, commemorative monuments provided a physical link with the body of the deceased, standing in a kind of indexical relationship, constituted by contiguity. However, the distinction between signified and signifier may be powerfully blurred: "[t]he point at which the body of the deceased ends and the material object (for example the memorial, the tomb, the casket of ashes) begins is often a porous boundary and this linkage with the body often reinforces the object's mnemonic capacity" (ibid:14). At times, an iconic element might be added to the monument, as in the case of effigy monuments or relief portraits of the deceased in stone or bronze inset into other monument forms (see Figure 3.1, Figure 3.2, and Figure 3.3).

Figure 3.1 Portrait detail, partially covered by carved drapery, on monument number 0214 (Kensal Green), dedicated to Peter Burrowes, who died 1841. (Photograph: author, 2012.)

Figure 3.2 Monument number 0343 (Kensal Green), dedicated to Robert Child, who died 1861. Note the portrait in marble inset into the monument. (Photograph: author, 2012.)

Figure 3.3 Monument number 3202 (Glasgow Necropolis), dedicated to Thomas Robertson, who died 1866. Note the portrait carved into the stone. (Photograph: author, 2013.)

An iconic relationship was not necessary, however, for the monument to have a significant and privileged relationship with the deceased. Nor was it essential that the body actually be beneath the monument. Stewart (2011:155) comments that seafarers' graves frequently lack a body, being either buried at sea or abroad. The erection of a monument to an absent or lost person could not form a direct contiguous connection with the body, and instead acted as a proxy, forming "a symbolic link between the location of the memorial and the place where the deceased's body lies" (Stewart 2011:155).

In this role, the monument does not signify some abstract concept but provides a tangible link with, and mnemonic for, the deceased, and this constitutes a significant portion of how monuments were meaningful for the bereaved. Monuments served in the stead of the body, providing a place where it was possible to be close to the deceased and perpetuate a relationship with them. Growing flowers, leaving flowers (Jalland 1996:294, Rugg 2008:46), and making sure that the monument was in good repair, may therefore be understood as analogous to Gosnell and Gott's (1992:233) description of the grave-decorating practices of Mexican American communities: "one can observe in these ongoing practices an aesthetic style through which the bereaved express continuing affection and remembrance for deceased family members". The era of permanent commemoration coincided with a significant increase in such practices. The number of florists in Glasgow increased from one in 1835, to 45 in 1885 (Mcfarland 2004:38), and several monuments in both the Glasgow and Bath Key Hill sample retained signs of paintwork, one of which had been recently repainted by the surviving descendants (Figure 3.4). The palette of the memorial landscape would have been quite different to now, as the repainting (based on original paint-traces) of several mausolea in the Glasgow Necropolis indicates (Figure 3.5). These practices, through which monuments are continually tended, twinned with their mnemonic capacity and role as loci for ongoing relationships with the dead, render the sites at which commemoration takes place spaces of memory, spaces that were constituted "through networks of social and cultural relations comprising not only the living and the dead but also the material objects that link them" (Hallam and Hockey 2001:100). Any further meanings that specific aspects of a monument's form might have had as a result of symbolism, iconicity, or indexicality, were, therefore in addition to this central relationship.

Figure 3.4 Monument 3408 (Glasgow Necropolis), dedicated to James and James D. Clark who both died in 1864. It has recently been repainted by descendants of the Clarks. (Photograph: author, 2013.)

Figure 3.5 The Robert Black mausoleum (Glasgow Necropolis) dating to 1837, dedicated to Robert Black's daughter Catherine who died aged twelve. Black was a wealthy local textile manufacturer and merchant and the mausoleum is the oldest in the cemetery. The colour of the paint was based on original flakes remaining on the ironwork and the work was undertaken with the support of the Friends of the Glasgow Necropolis. (Photograph: author, 2013.)

Cemeteries and Burial in the 19th century

The loved body

Just as the body of the deceased played an important role in the way in which monuments were meaningful for the bereaved, ideas surrounding the dead body are important to understanding the shifting standards and expectations relating to burial in the 19th century. Across the 1700s the physical body became increasingly associated with the concept of the self. As individual identities and affective ties became more important, the individual began to be "thought of as an integrated body, the centre of a web of relationships" (Tarlow 1999b:193). The process was gradual; Tarlow (ibid:193) traces this "framing of the self" in relation to the body as starting as far back as the Middle Ages. Identifying the causes of this shift is a significant task, and beyond the remit of this project, but by the late 18th century it became clear that although there was no clear consensus regarding the exact relationship between the body, soul and mind (just as there is not today) (Richardson 1987:93) there was a strong popular sentiment that the body was not simply a meaningless *casing* for the essential identity/soul of a person but *was* in some way the person. Jalland's (1996:213) description of the tenderness and intimacy with which the deceased body of a loved one might be treated in the period before burial speaks strongly to this. For example, "On the death of John Horsley's sister Fanny in 1849, her husband, Dr Seth Thompson, 'hardly leaves the room and it is becoming almost necessary he should'" (ibid:213). Even after the corpse was coffined and decaying, survivors still sometimes referred to it as if it might retain the sensitivity of the living person. For example, in the 17th century the preference for intramural burial was sometimes expressed in terms of a preference for warmer or cosier surroundings for the body (Tarlow 2011:173). In the 19th century this might be seen as continuing through the use of comfortable coffin furnishings such as pillows. Jalland (1996:213) points out that in less well-off families in which little space, time, or energy was available for pondering the needs of the corpse, its treatment would often be much more frank and pragmatic, and less sentimental, as Chadwick pointed out in his 1843 report.

Regardless of the degree of solicitude towards the corpse that could be afforded, all classes were certain that the body should not be interfered with. The *London Medical Gazette* commented in 1827 that, "[i]t seems, indeed, to be a prevalent notion that the body must be preserved in some way or other, that it must be suffered to rest in peace, quietly to await the general resurrection" (quoted in Richardson 1987:75). The theological position regarding the necessity of a whole and undisturbed body might not be clear, but public sentiment definitely preferred undisrupted decomposition (ibid:76). In no area was this more clearly articulated than in the outrage over bodysnatching and dissection. The idea that the dead body might be removed from its place of rest and cut up by strangers was a horrifying violation, and had the air of an almost sexual assault. Furthermore, dissection had previously been restricted to executed prisoners, so it also carried the taint of criminality (Rugg 1998a:48). The wealthy were able to purchase mort-safes or take other measures, but the poor were unable to protect the bodies of their loved ones. This inequality only worsened when the Anatomy Act was passed in 1832, legalising the requisitioning of the unclaimed bodies of those who died in workhouses. The likelihood of a body being exhumed and dissected was probably not as high as the fear surrounding the phenomenon suggested, but the illegal snatching of bodies and the Anatomy Act were threatening as they entailed the treatment of the body as scientific/commercial material rather than identifying it with the deceased person.

As Tarlow (2011:3) points out, beliefs regarding something as central and multivalent as the body often fall simultaneously into multiple systems of practice and analysis, resulting in the "simultaneous occurrence of contradictory and incoherent practices and texts". Across the first half of the 19th century this manifested itself in the tension between treatments of the body as scientific and saleable, and the widespread feeling that it was uniquely tied to the personhood of the deceased, and should be treated with respect and solicitude (Richardson 1987:79). This extended further than a simple distinction between the opinions of scientists (and the resurrectionists who supplied them) and everyone else.

At the same time that the public was demanding that the sanctity of the grave be recognised, the view that decomposing bodies were dangerous health threats was gaining traction. This duality can be discerned in both Chadwick's 1843 report and George Alfred Walker's (1807-1884) *Gatherings from Graveyards* (1839). Both documents emphasise the offensiveness of overcrowded urban burial spaces to the sentiments of the bereaved and their dangerousness as sources of miasmas. Walker (1839:190) acknowledges the horror felt by those who feared their friends and family had been disturbed, and details the supposed effects of the miasma arising from decaying bodies on those living and working nearby (ibid:87). This disjunction, between solicitude and disgust, affection and fear, arose from the difference between the corpse as embodied by a close relative, and the anonymous corpse that formed part of an impersonal mass of anonymous dead bodies (Rugg 2013:368-9). These conflicted sentiments were central to the development of cemeteries in the middle of the century.

Intolerance of Overcrowding

This combination of fear, disgust, sentiment and grief bubbled up in concert with a significant worsening in the condition of burial facilities in many places. Walker's (1839) descriptions of London burial grounds reveal the overcrowding that had developed thanks to a combination of rapid urbanisation and the failure of the Church to augment burial space. This overcrowding was found in many growing urban centres, as well as in smaller towns and cities, like Southampton and Bath. It should be noted, however, that burial crowding was not an entirely new phenomenon (Rugg 1998a:45). In Bath, the main parish church's crypt had been a source of concern since the 1770s. Phillip Thicknesse's (1719-1792) *New Prose Bath Guide for the Year 1778* described the atmosphere of Bath Abbey thus:

> "*The vast Number of Bodies buried within the Church, and near the Surface, and the Frequency of the Ground being opened, before the Effect of Putrefaction is over, … renders the air perceptibly disagreeable at first entering the Church".* (Thicknesse 1778:30)

The overcrowding of burial grounds in the first decades of the 19th century was not entirely new, but until then it had generally been tolerated. This might have been partly because of the continuing possibility of intramural burial for the reasonably well off, which, although the crypts of churches were very crowded, at least gave the (possibly faulty [see Reeve and Adams 1993]) impression of security, and (unlike burial in full churchyards) did not make apparent the reality of coffins being hacked up to make more space.

More important to this increasing intolerance of overcrowding were the changing attitudes towards the body described above and the increasingly intimate relationship between the living and the dead. Accepting that your loved one's body would likely be disturbed in order to make more room for further bodies was not quite as horrifying as the threat of dissection, but it was tantamount to it. Another factor was the romanticisation of burial grounds by the Graveyard Poets, amongst others, which endorsed an ideal of the commemorative landscape as a space of peaceful reflection and enjoyable melancholy (Rugg 1999:211). This was hardly compatible with the presence of decomposing wood, cloth and bone, especially since by this time even stylised representations of the mulching down of dead bodies had fallen out of favour in the commemorative arts (Tarlow 1999b:187-9). Visiting a grave in these contexts was probably more distressing than soothing. Walker (1839:190) comments that the neglect of burial grounds might well be attributed in part to "a feeling and a desire common to every man, – a feeling of unwillingness to believe, that his own friends have been disturbed". In such re-used soil the erection of a permanent memorial was optimistic at best.

Not only was it likely that bodies would be disturbed, but plot recording was often patchy in churchyards. Systems of notation that had sufficed when the rate of burial was low were unequal to the task faced by churches in urbanising areas (Rugg 2013b:336). This often made it difficult to be certain where a relative was buried, either to facilitate visits or so that relatives could be added later. The desire to be buried with family members was a powerful one, and although it was not new – dating back possibly as far as the medieval period (ibid:335) – it was becoming increasingly difficult to fulfil in churchyards, and as the 18th century drew to a close, intramural burial was an increasingly restricted alternative (ibid:336).

Nonconformity and self-determination in death

These factors combined in the late 18th and early 19th century to render existing burial provision increasingly distasteful to the bereaved, on top of the fear of grave robbing. The publication of Walker's account in 1839 added a scientific/public health angle to these concerns, articulating and justifying the disgust and fear felt towards dead bodies as an abstract class of material. It was not, however, these sentiments that formed the motivating force behind the development of cemeteries in the 1820s and 1830s.

Rugg (1998a) has made a strong case for Nonconformist self-determination being the primary factor in the establishment of early joint-stock cemeteries. Nonconformists necessarily comprise a heterogeneous group, but one feature that all such denominations had in common in the early 19th century was the problem they faced in defining the terms of their death rituals. Not only did Nonconformists have to pay the burial rates and Church fees of an organisation to which they did not belong (Curl 2007:53), but their ability to use their own ministers for burial was restricted and they were often forced to be buried in consecrated ground when this ran contrary to their beliefs, or were faced with the possibility of being refused burial (Rugg 1998a:46). Their alternatives were limited. Individual meeting houses or chapels might have small burial grounds attached, but burial spaces not associated with a place of worship were unusual. An exception to this was Bunhill Fields in Islington, which opened in the late 17th century and served the dissenting population of London (Brooks 1989:3).

By the late 1820s, however, the status of Nonconformists was changing. The repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts in 1828 and the passing of the Roman Catholic Relief Act in 1829 were clear indications of this. Although the Test and Corporation Acts had seldom been enforced since the turn of the century, their repeal was an official recognition of the rights of Nonconformists and Catholics to self-determination. This recognition was linked to the significant increase in the Nonconformist population of England between about

1780 and 1840, an increase resulting at least partly from the adoption by Baptists and Congregationalists of the evangelical methods characteristic of the Methodists (Binfield 1977:7). Furthermore, the members of these groups were increasingly middle-class, becoming the captains of local manufacturing and business in the provincial centres of England (Glaser 1958:354), a development which was both cause and consequence of their improving social position.

These changing circumstances meant that Nonconformist groups were in an increasingly strong position to open their own burial grounds. They also had the administrative and fund-raising skills required to achieve this thanks to their experience establishing new chapels to accommodate their growing numbers (Gilbert 1976:54). The result was that several groups of Nonconformists (sometimes from one denomination, but usually representing a variety of groups) opened cemeteries in the 1820s and 1830s. Rusholme Road Proprietary Cemetery, in Manchester, was amongst the earliest of these, and opened in 1820 (Rugg 1998a:46). During the twelve years starting in 1820, 13 joint-stock cemeteries opened, of which ten were run by Nonconformists (ibid:46). Rugg (ibid:48) emphasises that, although these sites were opened using a business model associated with profit-oriented enterprises, this was more a reflection of contemporary finance models than the motivations of the groups involved.

The scale of these early cemeteries was small compared with later examples, and they were often simply laid out, but they acted as a demonstration of four key things. Firstly, they showed that the organisation of burial spaces as businesses was a workable proposition. Secondly, because of the ownership of the land by the burial company, the sale of plots in perpetuity could guarantee the safety of the body from incidental disturbance in the course of the cemetery's further use. This had the secondary effect of meaning that families could be confident of their eventual reunion in the grave (and hopefully in heaven). It also made permanent memorials and extended grave visiting a viable possibility. Thirdly, although the early cemeteries were not elaborate, they were far more salubrious than many churchyards and, thanks to their model of plot sales, a prospective purchaser could be confident that they would remain this way and not become congested. Fourthly, they could guarantee, through the addition of high walls and iron gates, the security of the body in a way that churchyards mostly did not.

Few of these sites have survived with their monument assemblages intact, but they opened the way for larger and more elaborate cemeteries to open during the 1830s and 1840s, some of which have survived. Rugg (1998a) divides these subsequent cemeteries into a series of broadly sequential but overlapping groups: those cemeteries opened with the aim of making financial profit; those opened in the interest of civic improvement and pride; and those opened with the intention of improving public health. This categorisation, based on the motivations behind the foundation of these sites, is useful in thinking about what they were intended to achieve, but these groups cut across another important distinguishing feature which divides these sites into two camps, which is the religious structure of these sites.

Although the earliest Nonconformist cemeteries were open to anyone, they were effectively Nonconformist only because of being unconsecrated. Several Anglican (consecrated) cemeteries also opened in the second quarter of the century, including St James' Cemetery in Liverpool, which opened in 1829, and Bath Abbey Cemetery, which opened in 1844. These segregated sites were in a minority, however, as most joint-stock cemeteries innovatively offered dedicated space to Nonconformists and Anglicans on equal terms. This was not the result of "interdenominational idealism" (Brooks 1989:26), but either the need to attract funding and punters or the need to serve all quarters of the community. The distinction between interdenominational and Anglican/Nonconformist sites was significant, as it affected the religious structures of these landscapes and put these groups, who had previously been in a distinctly hierarchical relationship in terms of burial, on a more equal footing. Furthermore, within those sites in which both Anglicans and Nonconformists were accommodated, the structuring of this relationship was widely varied. How these differences affected the use of these sites will be explored in chapter six.

New Landscapes

Given the variety of interests being served by these cemeteries, it is unsurprising that those sites opened between the 1820s and the 1850s were widely varying, not only in terms of the religious landscapes that they created, but also in terms of their overall scale and design. The most famous examples, and the ones that tend to dominate popular conceptions, are the very large, elaborately laid out, and richly monumented examples like the ‘magnificent seven’ in London (Kensal Green, 1832; West Norwood, 1837; Highgate, 1839; Abney Park, 1840; Brompton, 1840; Nunhead, 1840; Tower Hamlets, 1841) and the Glasgow Necropolis (1833).

Most sites were significantly smaller than these, however, and Rugg (1998a:45) estimates that most of those opened in provincial centres in this period cost about £10,000 to lay out and were on average about ten acres. In comparison, when Kensal Green was consecrated its walls enclosed 42 acres and had required a much higher outlay. The cemeteries covered in this study cut across this axis of variation, encompassing both the smaller sites like Southampton, which was initially only ten acres, and required minimal alterations to the existing landscape, and much more intensively curated landscapes like the Glasgow Necropolis, which involved the construction of a bridge and the sculpting of the steep hillside to accommodate gradually sloping paths and carriageways (Figure 3.6).

It would be incorrect, however, to assume that only the larger cemeteries offered interesting landscapes; many smaller ones took advantage of dramatic natural or man-made features, like hills and quarries. Key Hill is only seven acres, but incorporates a sheer rock face. Bath Abbey Cemetery is only five acres, but is placed to take advantage of extensive views down a steep valley. The aesthetic for many sites, both large and small, was derived from the English landscape design tradition of the 18th century, which had in turn been adapted for cemetery use at Paris’ Père Lachaise. Some of the landscaped gardens of the 18th-century aristocracy had included commemorative structures to create an allusive environment, sometimes commemorating real people, and sometimes referencing ideals or virtues (Curl 2000:12-13). Gardens like Stowe in Buckinghamshire, Jaegerspris in Denmark, and Castle Howard in Yorkshire were such sites, where “the memorial and sometimes even the tomb were as integral a feature” (Etlin 1984:214-5).

Figure 3.6 View of the main entrance façade of the Glasgow Necropolis, looking east along the Bridge of Sighs. (Photograph: author, 2013.)

All five cemeteries in this study resonate to some extent with these examples, especially in their use of curved paths and careful planting. Even at Southampton the gentle sloping of the site is taken advantage of in the arrangement of the paths to create a shifting combination of enclosed areas, unexpected vistas across expanses of monuments, and views down axial paths. These sites are quite different from the burial sites that had previously been the norm for many, not only in that they were initially empty and provided the opportunity for permanent memorials, but in that they were more akin to pleasure grounds or estate parks than churchyards. This framing of the landscape offered architectural cues for monument erectors, effectively endorsing the styles used in 18th-century gardens, which were markedly eclectic.

The picturesque framing of the landscape also offered cues to site visitors. Although there were already some public parks in Britain by the 1820s, the second quarter of the century really saw the beginning of the movement towards the provision of parks in urban centres (Conway 1991:3, Jordan 1994:85). Pleasure grounds and the gardens of large estates therefore comprised a significant portion of cemetery users' prior experience with these kinds of spaces and the cemeteries opened in the 1830s were often amongst the first green spaces open, without fees, for public visitors. The role of cemeteries in improving the physical and moral health of the public was often emphasised in brochures and guides, but controlling the quality of visitors and the tone of their behaviour was sometimes a problem. Buckham (2005:147) notes that, in the 1850s, York Cemetery curtailed Sunday visiting, in an attempt to reduce the number of working class visitors whose only free time fell on the Sabbath. At the Glasgow Necropolis the use of free tickets and a visitors' book were intended at least in part to provide some control over the use of the site by those who did not own plots (Scott 2005a:125). In the United States, where there were even fewer precedents for the use of these sites, instructive signs and restrictive rules was even more common (Linden-Ward 1992).

Rugg (2013a:13) stresses, however, that "not all cemeteries were 'explicitly designed memorial parks'" (quoting Laqueur 2002). This was perhaps more distinctly the case after the introduction of burial boards in the 1850s. The Burial Acts of the 1850s (see Brooks 1989 for a summary of these) reframed and formalised burial provision and burial ground closure, with the Acts of 1852 onwards solidifying the financial footing of the bodies responsible for this (Rugg 2013a:35, 2013b:338). Although some burial board cemeteries were large and laid out in a similar idiom to cemeteries like Kensal Green (for example the oldest parts of Saint Pancras and Islington Cemetery in north London), many were small, cheap, and plain, intended simply to relieve the pressure on existing facilities. Rugg (2013a:13) cites the example of the burial board cemetery at Kirby Misperton in Yorkshire, which was laid out for £400 and had no chapel and no formal carriageway, just a wall round it.

The arrival of burial boards had the effect of shifting the balance of burial firmly away from churchyards, which in some areas still provided a majority of burial spaces, towards cemeteries. Rugg (2013a; Rugg *et al* 2014) observes that for all their visibility, cemeteries in the first half of the 19th century often represented the commemorative experience of a minority, and she has subsequently questioned the cemetery-centric narrative she previously pursued. Rugg and her co-authors (Rugg *et al* 2014:636-7) demonstrate that in the areas they studied (in rural Yorkshire and in Sheffield), the opening of cemeteries did not mean that provision was significantly relocated from church facilities, thanks to the opening of churchyard extensions (some attached to extant churchyards, some separated) and the construction of new churches. In Sheffield, although a cemetery opened in 1836, the Church retained at least half of all burials until the large burial board Burngreave Cemetery opened in 1862 (ibid:637). Rugg and her co-authors (Rugg 2013a:3, Rugg *et al* 2014:628) also argue that the secular status of private and municipal cemeteries has been overestimated. They point out that the consecration of ground in these sites placed it under the jurisdiction of the local parish, meaning that the Anglican sections of private cemeteries were in some sense churchyard extensions.

More broadly, Rugg (2013a:9) questions the dichotomisation of cemeteries and churchyards, arguing that this characterisation excludes clear areas of commonality. Rugg argues that describing churchyards as sacred, eternal, and localised, in contrast to capitalist, status-driven, and modern cemeteries oversimplifies these sites. There was clearly room for status display in churchyard burials, and the opening of Nonconformist cemeteries can hardly be seen as unrelated to religious conscience. Furthermore, many churches and churchyards were little older than cemeteries, and the established Church continued to derive large profits from burial, including in privately owned cemeteries (ibid:10, 12). Rugg's argument is a useful reorientation of previous discussions of these sites, but she underestimates the differences between the commemorative landscapes created in cemeteries and those afforded by churchyard extensions, especially during the first half of the century.

The importance of plot purchase cannot be overestimated. As Rugg (2013b:336-7) herself points out, private cemeteries sold plots in perpetuity, and these offered a greater sense of permanence and security from disturbance than a churchyard plot could provide. The clarity of this system of purchase fostered a confidence on the part of plot purchasers that they would be able to return to these sites indefinitely, and expect to be buried there themselves, with their family. Cemeteries were highly heterogeneous spaces, but this is perhaps one of the most significant features that differentiated them from churchyards.

Cemetery architecture

The architecture of early cemeteries was also distinct from that of churchyards. The architectural idioms in which cemetery architecture was undertaken frequently overlapped with the contemporary styles of both established Churches and meeting houses/chapels, but unlike these buildings, cemetery chapels were constructed with one specific set of requirements in mind, and simple replications of other religious buildings were therefore inadequate. Furthermore, the rest of the architectural infrastructure of cemeteries, (e.g. gates, gatehouses, catacombs) were without direct precedent and, possibly because of this, were often designed in eclectic styles, especially in the period up to the middle of the 1840s. If the landscape of the cemetery is recognised as providing a frame for the monuments erected there, then the architectural style of the buildings within that landscape should be acknowledged as a potential factor as well.

The earliest Nonconformist cemeteries, founded during the 1820s, had Greek Revival chapels, as did the few Anglican cemeteries established in this period. Overall the architectural tone was Neoclassical, with the entranceways of both 1820s Liverpool cemeteries (Anglican St James and Nonconformist Low Hill) being executed in this style. During the 1830s the broadly Classical pattern continued, in both interdenominational cemeteries and single-use sites. This was perhaps unsurprising in the case of Nonconformist cemeteries, as most nonconforming denominations were using columned designs for their chapels in the first third of the century. In Anglican sections, however, the continuing preference for Neoclassical or Greek Revival designs into the middle of the 1830s cannot be so directly attributed to contemporary church-building practices. The Commissioners' churches built throughout the 1820s and the first half of the 1830s were mostly Gothic Revival, at least in decoration if not in plan (although this was not the case in London until later in the 1820s). When Gothic plans were put forward for Gothic chapels during this period, as at Kensal Green in 1831-2, they were rejected in favour of Neoclassical designs (Curl 2001).

In 1837, however, West Norwood Cemetery in south London was completed with entirely Gothic architecture: this was a large, expensively constructed interdenominational joint-stock cemetery, and not only was the

Anglican chapel erected in Gothic Revival style, but so too were the Nonconformist chapel and the cemetery gates. Brooks (1989:21) attributes this to the fact that Gothic architecture had been chosen for the new Houses of Parliament in 1835. This possibility raises some interesting questions about the position of cemetery architecture in relation to religious and secular practice and sentiment. If the designers chose Gothic because, as Brooks (ibid:21) puts it, "Gothic combined the glamour of recent success with the patriotic feelings that clustered round the Mother of Parliaments". This suggests that cemetery architecture was tied as much to developments in secular architecture as it was to church or chapel design.

The use of Gothic Revival at Norwood did not, however, usher in an era of Gothic hegemony. If anything, the mid 1830s to the mid 1840s were the most experimental and heterogeneous period in cemetery architecture. Classical designs were still in use, as at the interdenominational Arnos Vale in Bristol (1840). Along with the continuing use of Neoclassical designs, elements of Egyptianizing styles were introduced, as at the Nonconformist Sharrow Vale in Liverpool (1836), which had a Doric chapel with battered (inwardly leaning) window profiles. Abney Park Cemetery in London (1840), which was non-denominational (predominantly Congregationalist), combined a Gothic chapel with gatehouses that echoed Egyptian pylons, with battered walls and cavetto cornices. The use of Egyptianizing buildings never fully extended to Anglican cemeteries, however. The Anglican Woodhouse cemetery in Leeds' use of a Greco-Egyptian lodge was the closest thing to an exception to this.

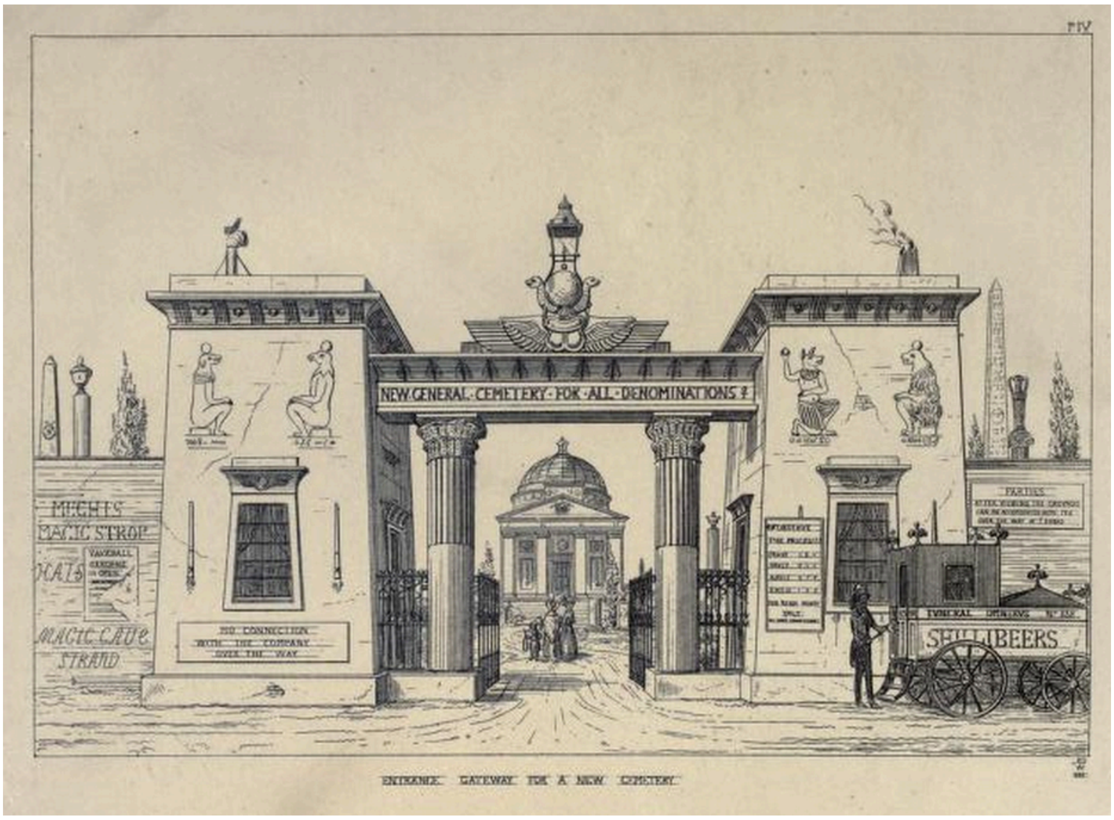


Figure 3.7 Illustration of an Entrance Gateway for a New Cemetery (probably meant to represent Abney Park), from *An Apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture in England* (Pugin 1843) (accessed online at https://archive.org/details/a604881400pugiuoft).

The architectural eclecticism of cemetery architecture during the later 1830s and early 1840s, and the use of Gothic architecture within this, ran contrary to emerging discourses regarding the moral content of architecture, especially as these were articulated in the work of Pugin, who roundly lambasted and criticised the new cemetery companies in his 1843 volume *An Apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture in England*. One illustration in this volume seemed to be a particularly barbed comment on the architecture of Abney Park (Figure 3.7), and he accused the use of Egyptian and even Neoclassical designs of lacking in meaning and being heathen. Perhaps because of this shift in the broader architectural frame, this period of stylistic variety was waning by the middle of the 1840s, at which point Gothic or round-arched Norman style chapels, often accompanied by an Elizabethan or Tudor lodge or gatehouse, became the norm. After this point, cemetery architecture became increasingly homogenous, and none of the burial board cemeteries present anything as unusual as the juxtaposition of Egyptian and Gothic buildings offered by Abney Park or the Glasgow Necropolis' combination of Egyptian catacombs and an entrance façade likened to "an Italian Mannerist garden feature" (Scott 2005a:109 quoting Williamson *et al*).

This brief summary provides some impression of the broad pattern of stylistic development in cemetery architecture across the first half of the century, indicating that heterogeneity is the only constant until around 1850. These buildings provided the immediate architectural context for the commemorative landscapes that developed around and within them, and are therefore an important element in considering how different monument forms were used at different sites. Such a narrow contextualisation does not, however, provide much insight into the broader associations that different architectural styles had during this period as a result of their uses in different contexts and the discourses that were woven around them. These will be explored as we consider the specific uses of different monument types in different sites.

Chapter 4 Methodology.

Although there are numerous excellent works based on the survey of 19th-century cemeteries (for example Parker Pearson 1982; Mytum 1999, 2002a; Tarlow 1999a; Buckham 2005), many of which have used archaeological surveys in concert with documentary material, these have often focused on single sites. When multi-site comparison is involved, it tends to be over a geographically restricted area, as in the case of Mytyum's (1999, 2002) work in North Pembrokeshire, Cannon's (1989, 2005) work in Cambridgeshire, or Clark's (1987) work in Broome County, New York. Some of these projects have been able to produce full-site survey, while others have surveyed random selections of monuments (Clark 1987), or have restricted survey work to specific areas of the site/s (Buckham 2000). This project differs from these examples in two major ways: it is geographically extensive and, rather than using random sampling or partial-site survey to restrict sample size, the corpus of material is defined by monument type.

This method was selected for two main reasons relating to the kinds of questions that this project aims to ask/respond to, and the theoretical framework around which it is constructed. Firstly, one of the central concerns of this project is the differential usage of monument forms, both between monument types and between different sites, and how these practices developed in tandem with different landscapes, different communities and different religious contexts. This requires the comparison of contrasting communities and sites, which could only be achieved through a geographically extensive, multi-site project. An alternative to this might have been to undertake a survey of the data from existing single-site and single-region projects, but the challenge of acquiring original datasets and the variation in sampling and recording techniques would have made this prohibitively complicated. Secondly, the project's interest in the co-emergence of monument usage and the commemorative landscape means that surveying only a portion of those monuments belonging to a particular type would restrict the capacity of the project to consider these as constituting a temporally and spatially intertwined set of practices.

Site selection

The selection of monument types for survey was discussed earlier, as was the period of study, but the five surveyed sites have not yet been fully presented, nor has their selection been explored. The sites were chosen to cross-cut the major axes of variation in pre-1850s cemeteries, from the architecture of their buildings and the scale of their grounds, to their religious structure, community setting, and organisational structure. What they all have in common is that they were the first sites in their respective communities to provide cemetery burial, with the distinct arrangement of space that this entailed and the opportunity it provided to undertake permanent commemoration.

Perhaps the most basic difference between the five sites is the variation between communities they served. To a large extent this was defined by their locations and the overall social, religious, and economic make-up of those areas. The occupational structures of the populations of Bath, Birmingham and Southampton could hardly be more contrasting; the Glasgow Necropolis was located in a markedly different religious context to the other sites; and Kensal Green Cemetery boasts far more titled families than the other sites, at least in part because the metropolis itself was home to so many. However, these sites were not simple reflections of the composition of their broader community settings, as specific groups were excluded from each. Southampton Cemetery and the Glasgow Necropolis were the most inclusive of the five sites in that they imposed no religious restrictions and offered cheap burial options in the form of common interments. Common interment, although clearly less desirable because plots were usually shared and would likely be reused, was often not as dire an option as has sometimes been suggested, and sometimes even permitted the burial of family members together (Rugg 2013b:338-343). The other three cemeteries in this survey were more restrictive, Bath Abbey and Key Hill on the basis of religion, and Kensal Green on the basis of cost. Common interment was an option at Kensal Green, costing £1/5/-, but this was more expensive than alternatives and the majority of burials were in privately owned graves which entailed purchasing “the exclusive Right of Burial or Interment, either in Perpetuity or for a limited Period, as may be agreed upon” (Litten 2001:330, quoting the 1833 Act of Parliament that incorporated the cemetery, see also Curl

2001:110). It is worth noting, however, that regardless of the extent to which their clientele was restricted by religious or economic criteria, all five sites attracted customers from across their respective cities, although as we shall see in relation to the Glasgow Necropolis sample, the geographical distribution of plot purchasers is to some extent defined by these restrictions.

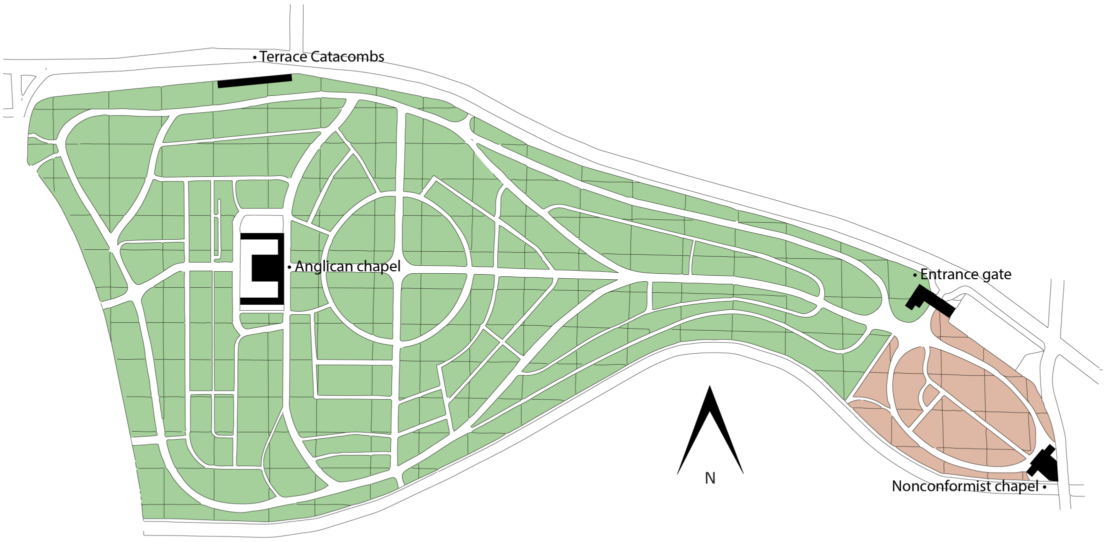


Figure 4.1 Kensal Green Cemetery, London, showing the unconsecrated section in pink, and the consecrated in green, indicating the relative positions of the chapels, entrance and Terrace Catacombs. Not to scale. (Illustration: author's, based on Curl 2001.)

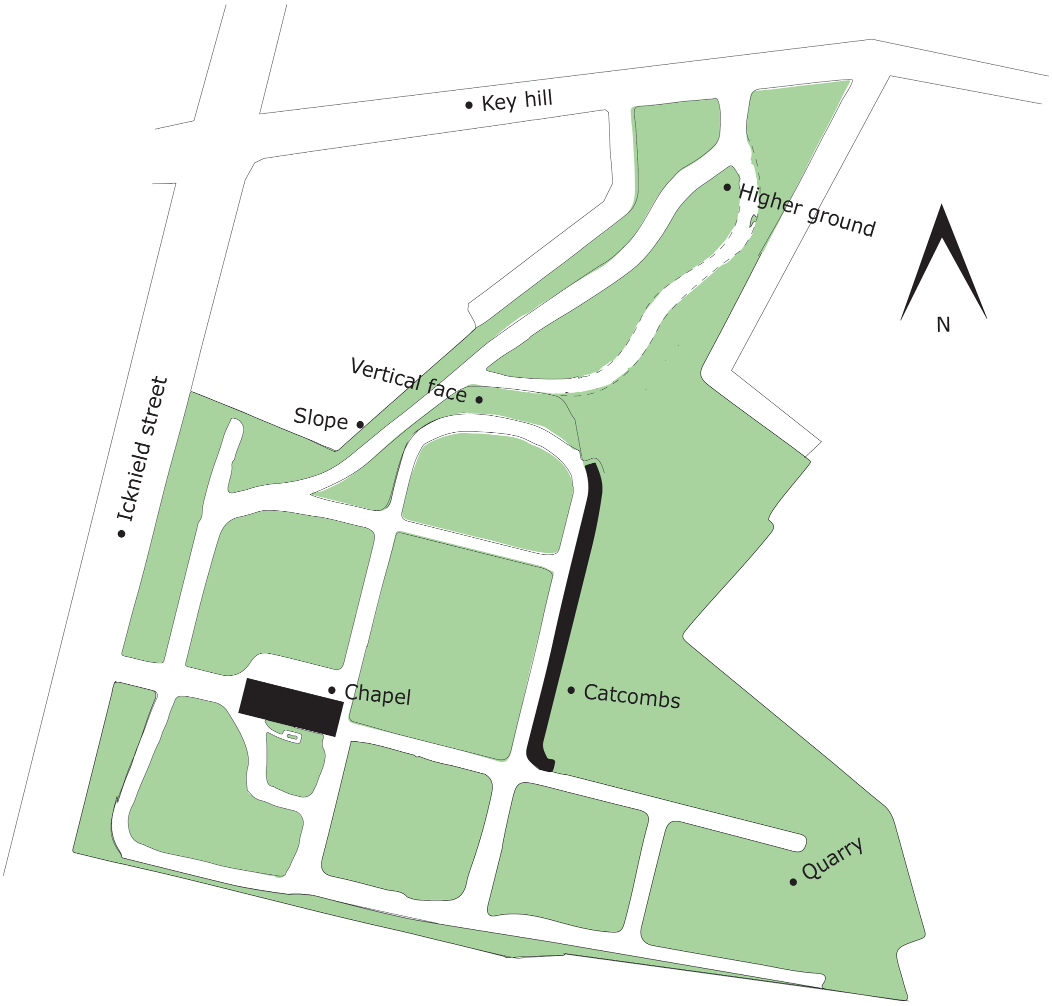


Figure 4.2 Map of Key Hill Cemetery, Birmingham, showing the site as it stands today, except that the chapel is no longer present. The location of what had been a working quarry during the first decades of the site's use is indicated. Not to scale. (Illustration author's own, based on that of the Friends of Key Hill and Warstone Lane Cemeteries.)

The structure of these sites, and their architectural character, was also strongly varied. Kensal Green and Birmingham Key Hill both had columned chapels, although the Key Hill chapel was demolished in the 1960s (see Figure 4.3 and Figure 4.4). Both these sites also had catacombs. At Kensal Green these were located beneath both the Anglican and Nonconformist chapels, with a third Anglican set housed in a separate colonnade (Figure 4.1). At Key Hill they were constructed into the hillside and accessible by arched entrances (see Figure 4.2). The Greek Revival frame of these two 1830s cemeteries was in line with the designs of contemporary sites and contrasts with the 1840s Gothic and round-arched chapels of Bath Abbey and Southampton, the latter of which also had an Elizabethan-style gatehouse (see Figures 5.3, Figure 5.6, and Figure 5.8).

Figure 4.3 Key Hill Chapel, Birmingham, 1919, taken from the Icknield Entrance (courtesy of the Friends of Key Hill and Warstone Lane Cemeteries, see http://www.fkwc.org/keyhill.html).

Figure 4.4 The east face of the Anglican Chapel at Kensal Green, 1836 ink illustration from the office of the cemetery's main architect John Griffith, reproduced in Curl 2001:97.

The outlier amongst the five cemeteries is the Glasgow Necropolis, which had no chapel as funeral services commonly took place at home in Scotland during this period. The structures it did have were somewhat eclectic: a set of catacombs fronted by a large Egyptianizing entrance (Figure 4.5), and an entrance façade that, as was noted earlier, approximates to an Italian Mannerist garden ornament (Figure 3.6). A significant architectural feature of the site, although neither affiliated with the cemetery nor located within its boundaries, was the High Church, which stands alongside the main entrance route (Figure

4.6). The huge medieval Gothic structure dominates views from and of the cemetery, and its role in providing architectural context for the site, as well as conferring a sense of place and tradition, should not be overlooked.

Figure 4.5 The Egyptian Vaults at the Glasgow Necropolis, which were designed in 1837 to offer temporary housing for bodies waiting for the completion of lairs (the Scottish term for burial plots). (Photograph: author, 2013.)

Figure 4.6 View of St Mungo's High Church (also known as Glasgow Cathedral) from the north side of the Bridge of Sighs. (Photograph: author, 2013.)

Kensal Green is the largest site in this project, by a significant margin. The initial parcel of land enclosed within the cemetery's walls was 42 acres, and during the 1850s this was increased to just under 80 acres through the purchase of neighbouring land (Curl 2001:130). None of the other four cemeteries approached even a quarter of this. The Glasgow Necropolis is now 37 acres, thanks to a series of extensions that took place up to the end of the 19th century (Figure 7.34), but when it was first laid out it was far smaller, as the initial parcel of land owned by the Merchants' House was only five acres (Scott 2005a:84). Likewise, Bath Abbey, Southampton and Birmingham Key Hill were all ten acres or less when they were founded. The main difference between these smaller sites and the large size of Kensal Green is the degree of familiarity that these scales permit. Even with frequent and explorative visits it is difficult to gain a detailed knowledge of a site the size of Kensal Green, and this would have been exacerbated by the rate at which monuments were being erected during the period surveyed. The other, smaller, sites would have required much less regular visits to gain a more intimate knowledge of the changing landscape, and this difference might affect the way in which the commemorative practices within each site should be considered as intertwined and co-developing. This is a question to which we will return.

It might be assumed that the two famous and elaborate cemeteries (Kensal Green and the Glasgow Necropolis) would have been visited more frequently by local inhabitants than the other three sites, but this was not necessarily the case. All five cemeteries attracted customers from across their respective cities, and were novel landscapes within these, at least within the first years after their openings. Given that the use of cemeteries as "strange but genteel pleasure grounds" (Linden-Ward 1992) is attested to at other sites like York (Buckham 2005), it seems reasonable to assume that these were indeed sites for leisurely strolling. The account of the opening of Southampton Cemetery in the *Hampshire Advertiser & Salisbury Guardian* clearly indicates that the site was a point of interest to local inhabitants (Anonymous 09/05/1846). Likewise, the unveiling of the Crimean War Memorial obelisk at Bath Abbey in 1856 was tied into a day long set of celebrations and was apparently attended by upwards of 15,000 local people, indicating that the site was part of the living landscape of the city (Hanna 2010). On balance, it is possible that those using the smaller sites were actually more familiar with them than their counterparts in Kensal Green.

The religious landscapes and organisational structures presented by these sites also cut across the variety that characterises cemeteries of this period. Southampton and Kensal Green are interdenominational but, whereas in Southampton the boundary between sections is written very lightly into the landscape, at Kensal Green it is accentuated by a gate and hedge which interrupt the central axis of the site (contrast the forms of the boundaries between the areas in Figure 4.1 and Figure 4.7). At the Glasgow Necropolis religious differentiation is not signalled at all by the landscape, save in the apportioning of space for the Jewish community (Scott 2005a:54) while, in Bath Abbey and Key Hill, denominational variation is not discernible as a result of the exclusion of the Christian other. The significance of these variations will be explored in chapter six.

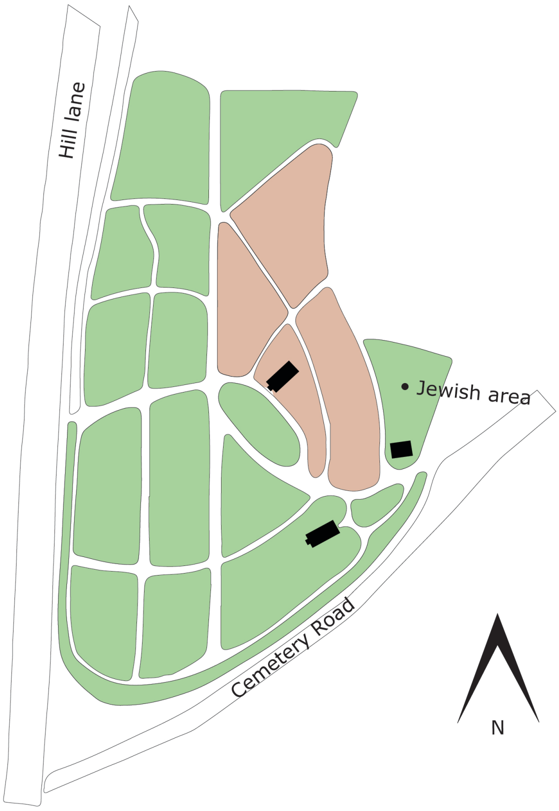


Figure 4.7 Map of Southampton Cemetery showing the unconsecrated area in pink, and the consecrated in green. Not to scale. (Illustration: author's, based on a map provided by the Friends of Southampton Old Cemetery.)

With regards to organisational structure, only Kensal Green and Key Hill followed the archetypal joint stock model of cemetery finance. Of these two, the latter is a clear representative of Rugg's (1998a:49) Nonconformist category, in which self-determination played a motivating role in the establishment of the site. Kensal Green, on the other hand, epitomises the exceptional profit-oriented cemetery, as distinct from profit-oriented cemeteries like Victoria Park which skimmed a healthy profit off the cheaper end of the market by cramming thousands of bodies into common graves (Rugg 2013b:340). The other three sites are, however, organised along more unusual lines. The Glasgow Necropolis was founded and run by the Merchants' House on a piece of underutilised land that they owned near the cathedral. The Merchants' House was the pre-eminent business organisation in the city, maintaining a number of philanthropic and quasi-municipal roles. Its top members also tended to hold key positions in both local government and other philanthropic organisations and comprised a key part of the local elite, which, unlike in London, did not involve a significant proportion of aristocrats (Trainor 1996:236). The motivation of the Merchants' House in founding the cemetery was therefore partly financial, in that the parcel of land was anticipated to offer more profit as a cemetery than as a piece of wooded hillside, and partly sprang from a sense that this facility was "an improvement worthy of the city" in that it would relieve pressure from existing burial grounds and provide a green space full of morally uplifting monuments (Scott 2005a:78 quoting Hill, one of the members of the Merchants' House involved in the establishment of the Necropolis).

Southampton Cemetery, which was among the first municipal cemeteries in Britain (English Heritage 2011:10, 11) was more directly intended to alleviate burial crowding than the Necropolis, and was never intended to be a moneymaking enterprise. The burial crisis in Southampton had become acute by the early 1840s when the Cemetery Committee heard evidence that the city's churchyards were full and were faced with the alternatives of obtaining Parliamentary permission to found a cemetery, or permitting the town to be "reduced to a state of extreme hazard and distress" (SCCCM 11/03/1843). The Committee was also concerned, however, that the cemetery should be "ornamental to the Town as well as attractive to visitors" (SCCCM 05/04/1843), and this concern is borne out in the lengths to which the Committee went to ensure that the most appropriate site was chosen and laid out to best advantage.

As at Southampton, burial overcrowding was a significant motivating factor in the opening of Bath Abbey Cemetery, but the body responsible for this undertaking was more religious than civic. As Thicknesse's (1778) comments in the late 18th century made clear, the crypt of the parish church of the city of Bath (Bath Abbey) had been full for some time, and there was no churchyard. The Church did not make any move to improving this situation so the Rector of Bath Abbey, Revd William Brodrick, secured the financial help of a local aristocrat, Lord Midleton, and established the cemetery. Because of its direct ties to the parish it could be seen as an extension of the parish's burial facilities (although it was not closed to non-parishioners), and Rugg would likely argue that the site is an example of the faultiness of the binary often drawn between cemeteries and churchyards. Rugg is correct in arguing for a less essentialising reading of burial landscapes (surely the foregoing descriptions of these five cemeteries are a clear indication of the heterogeneity of the category), but the idiom in which Bath Abbey Cemetery was laid out, with the landscape design being initially undertaken by the pre-eminent cemetery designer of the day, John Claudius Loudon (1783-1843), was distinctly more cemetery than churchyard. Furthermore, like the other cemeteries in this study, plots could be purchased in perpetuity, with the attendant possibility of permanent commemoration, which was not typical of churchyards. This combination of features mean that although this site was certainly much more closely tied to the established Church than the other examples, it remains distinct from the burial settings that had existed in Bath previously, and had more in common with cemeteries than churchyards.

These are not the only points of variance between these sites, and further points of difference, such as variation in the elaboration of local monumental masonry industries, and differences in the subdivision of space within these sites, are approached in the context of analysing the sampled memorials. However, the above descriptions serve to illustrate that these sites were chosen in order to cover a significant portion of the variation found in pre-1850s cemeteries, offering the possibility of exploring how this variation intersected with the development of commemorative practice. A number of other cemeteries could have provided alternative samples (see English Heritage 2011) but a combination of factors made these five particularly suitable for this project: all have approximately intact commemorative assemblages (except Key Hill, as will be discussed at the end of this chapter); all are maintained to a relatively high standard and do not contain significant patches of ivy or briars to hinder survey; all are relatively safe, and the author did not feel threatened working alone for extended periods; and all were run by organisations happy to have the author undertaking survey work. These criteria excluded a large proportion of other 1830s and 1840s cemeteries.

Cemetery Survey

The surveying techniques used for this project were adapted from those described by Harold Mytum (2000) in his volume *Recording and Analysing*

Graveyards. Each site was initially surveyed in order to assess the number of monuments requiring survey. Any monument falling into the formal categories selected for survey and dating to before 1871 was listed, with a unique number, the main material, the overall form, the first name on the primary inscription, and the inferred date of erection. The unique monument identification numbers indicate the cemetery location of each memorial, Kensal Green monuments run from zero, Southampton from 1000, Bath Abbey from 2000, Glasgow from 3000, Birmingham Key Hill from 6000. The position of each monument was hand-marked on a site map, which was re-checked during the main survey and later transferred to a digital rendering of the map. Totally illegible monuments were recorded on a separate list and their locations recorded, but were not fully recorded as it was not possible to be confident that they belonged to the correct period and no data regarding their erectors could be collected. Monuments for which the date was illegible but names or other identifying details were available *were* fully recorded, and then either transferred to the illegible list if they could not be associated with a date, or excluded if it emerged that they were erected after the end of the surveyed period.

The main recording of each monument included information on size, orientation, condition, decoration, material, location, any additional elements that were associated with the monument, and the number and orientation of photographs taken of it, as well as the full inscription and a sketch of the monument. This information was recorded in a combination of longhand and code on survey sheets adapted from Mytum's (2000) model (see appendix 1). The coding system used for detailing monument forms was also based on Mytum's system but was adapted to reflect the restricted number of forms being recorded and to enable the recording of greater detail regarding these forms. The font used for inscriptions was recorded, but not in relation to the specific wording of the text and only upper/lower case differences were recorded. After recording, all of this data was transferred from the survey sheets into a specially constructed relational database (Access), to facilitate data manipulation. The inscriptions were transcribed and saved both as searchable word documents and within the database.

Census material

The individuals commemorated on each monument were then followed up using National Census data (mostly 1841, 1851, 1861 and 1871), Post Office directories, and the burial records from each cemetery. The National Census provided a significant body of information, which was recorded on the back of each survey sheet and then transferred to the database. This generally included addresses, occupations, ages, places of birth, family structure, the employment of residential servants, and housing type. The exception to this was the Scottish Census, which was transcribed rather than directly digitised, making it difficult to ascertain whether housing was single or multiple occupancy (houses or flats). The range of information provided by the combination of inscriptions and census data addressed three main areas of interest involving monument erectors and their usage of monuments.

Firstly, the family structure indicated on monument inscriptions is often partial at best, either because of weathering or because for a variety of reasons only a small portion of the family was buried there. In some cases the relationship between the initial subject of the memorial and the monument erector is explicitly stated, as in the case of the monument erected by Jane Anderson for her mother Janet in 1850 (Figure 4.8). The inscription reads:

Figure 4.8 Monument 3365 (Glasgow Necropolis) erected by Jane Anderson for her mother Janet in 1850. (Photograph: author, 2013.)

ERECTED
BY
JANE ANDERSON
TO THE MEMORY OF
HER MOTHER
JANET MILLER ANDERSON
WHO DIED 10TH SEPTR 1850.
AND OF
JANET ANDERSON
HER SISTER
WHO DIED 20TH DECR 1828
JANE ANDERSON
DIED 9TH MAY 1872,
AGED 70 YEARS.

The relationship between erector and subject is not, however, explicitly specified in most cases and, when it is not made clear (especially where only a single person is commemorated), the census is used to assess whether there were surviving siblings, parents, or children, who might have taken responsibility for commemorating the deceased.

In most cases the monument erector is assumed to be the head of the household in which the commemorated subject was living at the time of their death, and the primary relationship being commemorated is taken as that pertaining between the head of the household and the deceased. When the subject of commemoration is the head of the household, the wife is assumed to have taken responsibility for the commemorative decisions, unless other members of the deceased's family (parents, siblings, nieces/nephews) are also buried there, in which case it is attributed to either the deceased's parents (if living) or the head of the household to which the other family members belong (usually a brother). If the wife of the deceased is also dead, the likely erectors are inferred on the basis of the age and independence of the deceased's children and parents, along with the composition of the overall commemorative group. There are also instances in which multiple individuals appear to have been commemorated simultaneously, in which case the relationship being commemorated is considered to be multiple-familial. Not all relationships being commemorated were, of course, familial, but the identification of extra-familial commemoration is generally dependent on the wording of the monument inscription, and is therefore not generally dependent on census information.

Defining the relationship between subject and erector becomes more complicated when the identity of the initial commemorative subject is unclear, either because the order in which deaths are inscribed is chronologically disrupted, or because there is some other indication that the first listed burial did not coincide with the monument's erection. These intricacies are explored below in relation to questions of dating, and their implications for the variable meanings of monuments are discussed in more detail in chapter seven. Overall, however, the combination of census data, inscriptions and, in some cases, burial records, gives considerable insight into the familial setting of the deceased and the relationships that the monument therefore commemorates. It can indicate the prioritisation of particular relationships in different places; for example, the higher frequency with which the monument erector is identified at the Glasgow Necropolis than at the other sites, including those described in other studies (Cannon 2005:48), might suggest that monuments were more explicitly associated with a singular one-to-one relationship there than elsewhere. Furthermore, in concert with data regarding monument forms, information regarding family structure can reveal variations in the ways in which specific relationships were commemorated at different sites.

Census data also makes it possible to estimate the economic status of those responsible for the monument. This does not stem so much from occupational identities, which cannot consistently be correlated with financial status (see below), as from the family's housing and residential servant employment. Housing information reveals whether the family lived in a house or a series of rooms and, in the case of Glasgow, where this information is not provided by the transcribed census, the address can be helpful in considering the economic status of the sample overall by comparing the spread of addresses with the construction of affluent suburbs (see chapter seven). For housing data to be useful, it must be interpreted within the context of the local domestic market. For example, in Glasgow in the first half of the century a housing shortage meant that rents were high and only the most wealthy fifth of the middle class could afford an entire house (Nenadic 1996:28). Such local conditions were clearly not consistent across the five sites; the massive urban expansion of Birmingham during this period made for quite a different housing context to Bath, where the population was not expanding in the same way. When recognised as affected by local variation, housing information can provide a useful guide to the economic capacity of families and their social position as a result of this.

The employment of residential servants was also locally variable, and is therefore, like housing, not an absolute measure of economic status. Cultures of servant employment were not consistent across the country in the 19th century, largely because of the different economic structures of different areas and towns. For example, employment options for women expanded across the 19th century in expanding industrial cities like Birmingham, meaning that fewer women were seeking work as servants. As a comparison, 26% of the female population of Bath worked in domestic service in 1861, whereas in Sheffield this figure was only just over 8% (Armstrong 1972:251). Furthermore, in Glasgow, because of the expense of housing (resulting from stock shortage), conditions tended to be more cramped for middle-class families than those living elsewhere, militating against the employment of residential servants (Nenadic 1996:285). Even within professional middle-class families in Glasgow, the employment of more than a single general servant was unusual (ibid:285), whereas across the rest of the country these families would be likely to employ three servants with specific roles (e.g. cook, housemaid, parlour maid/nursemaid) (Horn 1997:21). Nonetheless, the employment of servants is a useful indicator of the economic status of families, and with housing evidence, can be compared with monument data to interrogate the persistent assumption that the significance of monuments is “solely to do with the communication of a message of status, unproblematically construed as a correlate of wealth" (Tarlow 1999a:119).

The censuses also offer information regarding the occupations of household members. Working with this data is, however, even more tricky than with household or servant employment data. Although census officers were provided with increasingly detailed guidance during the 19th century regarding how to record occupational data, the categorisation of occupations remained inconsistent through the surveyed period (Armstrong 1972:195). Armstrong (ibid:191) points out that the categorisation of occupations in a developing industrial economy might be intended to record the economic function of each person in order to build up a picture of the overall industrial composition of the economy, or might be intended to reveal their occupational identity and thereby offer insight into their social class. For example, listing someone as a 'clerk' places them socially, but says nothing about the industry they serve. Until the 1911 census, however, when the question of occupations was split into two parts, the categorisation of occupations in censuses was "structured neither on a truly occupational basis, nor on the other hand, on a consistently industrial basis" (ibid:195). Nor were the existing guidelines followed consistently. For example, in the Birmingham sample, some returns say simply "manufacturer", while others give details regarding the goods being manufactured and the number of employees. This defies categorisation in either direction; when someone is listed as a manufacturer we do not know what they made (what industry they served), nor do we know whether they employed a handful of people, or hundreds (and therefore what social group they might be classed as belonging to).

Finding ways of grouping this data usefully is therefore difficult and its patchiness makes using it as an indicator of economic status unworkable; there are simply too many unknowns. Similarly, the use of large and amorphous categories like 'manufacturing' makes using it to indicate social identity difficult. However, the more established professions, like teaching, law, the clergy and the military, were more consistently recorded, and the census is therefore a good indicator of these occupational identities.

In this project, two different sets of occupational categories were used to group the census data, both based on contemporary classifications. The first scheme is focused on maintaining whatever resolution the census data permits regarding occupational identities, and therefore lists specific occupations where possible. This is clearly not always possible without rendering the list unhelpfully long, and so the more infrequent occupations (e.g. gold watch chain maker, or flour merchant) are listed under categories based on their broader economic role, such as manufacturing or trade. Sometimes these are subdivided, for example, in relation to the Key Hill sample, in which over half of the households were headed by manufacturers, this category was subdivided according to the goods produced and the number of employees (where this information was available) in order to look at the category in more detail. The hybridity of this system, the mixing of specific occupations with industrial types is, to an extent, a mirror of the census data, and is a reflection of the possibilities and limitations of this material.

•Agriculture •Arts (painter, artist) •Church •Civil Service (both domestic and colonial) •Education (teachers, professors, tutors) •Law •Manufacturing •Media (journalist, newspaper proprietor) •Medicine •Military •Naval •Politics •Private Means • 'White collar' (bank clerk, architect, engineer) •Service •Shipping •Trade.

Figure 4.9 Occupational Classification scheme 1.

The second scheme is based on Katz's characterisation of the 19th century occupational classification system and eschews all specific occupational identities in favour of internally heterogeneous categories based broadly on the position of the occupation within the economy. It is therefore less suited to considering specific occupational identities and more concerned with establishing the overall composition of the sample in terms of broad economic distinctions. Between these two systems it is possible to use the occupation data provided by censuses to consider both occupational identities and more general patterns of social distinction. The former is particularly useful when considering occupations which, for a variety of reasons that will be explored in the next chapter, form strong bonds, either within themselves, or with the broader community, and around which specific commemorative practices developed.

Occupational group	Occupations included
Public service	Constable, Teacher, Army, Navy, Politician
Commercial: *proprietors*	Builder, Clothes Merchant, Grocer, Innkeeper, Merchant
Commercial: *employees*	Agent, Bookkeeper, Clerk
Gentlemen	Independent means, fund holder
Professionals	Attorney, Clergy, Physician, Surgeon
Agriculture	
Skilled Trades	Chemist, Baker, Blacksmith, Bricklayer, Butcher, Cabinetmaker, Carpenter, Carriage Maker, Confectioner, Mason
Semiskilled and Service	Servant, Stage Driver, Stevedore, Teamster, Waiter
General Labour	
Unemployed	
Miscellaneous	Widow, explorer.

Figure 4.10 Occupational Classification Scheme 2 based on Katz 1972.

Burial Records

The data from the censuses was combined with that provided by Post Office directories, which were useful in corroborating the identification of the deceased in the census, but which generally added little detail. The information from burial records was also useful as corroborative material for inscriptions and censuses, but in some places it also provided additional material. Some of the most useful information provided by these was regarding plot numbers, which assist in the relative dating of monuments and burials, but these numbers were not recorded in the burial records of each site.

Digitised versions of the Greater London Record Office's copy of the Diocese of London Bishops' Transcripts were available from the online genealogy site ancestry.com for all of the relevant years at Kensal Green, except for 1842, which is missing. Further records are kept in the Cemetery Company's office but access to these was not possible. The digitised records contain the name of the deceased, their address at the time of death, the date of their death, the date of their burial, the burial number (*not* the plot number), and the official who conducted the ceremony. The identity of the minister responsible for the ceremony provided the potential means to identify the denominational affiliations of those buried in the Nonconformist section, but in practice it was often difficult to identify the ministers in question. Because the records did not contain plot numbers, it was difficult to be certain in which plot a particular body had been buried, which in turn meant that it was not always possible to know whether all those recorded on the stone were in that particular location, or whether additional unrecorded people might be present. Some chronological control was possible, however, as plot numbers (allocated in a single chronological sequence) were often inscribed into the bases of monuments, meaning that even though the monument might date to a later period, the plot number could be used to confirm that at least the plot was in use at the time of the earliest deaths listed on the inscription.

Key Hill's digitised records, on the other hand, provide both monument inscriptions and a summary of the burial record, including plot numbers. These records are searchable by last name and include plot numbers, courtesy of the Jewellery Quarter Research Trust (www.jqrt.org), and make it much easier to assess the overall number and order of interments in each grave and the extent to which the inscription reflects these, which in turn makes it much easier to assess the date at which this particular iteration of the monument was erected. This catalogue of burials and plots offers a significant degree of chronological control in spite of the fact that the plot numbers in Key Hill were allocated on the basis of a pre-determined grid rather than a chronological sequence. This advantage is balanced by the disadvantage of the fact that the Key Hill records do not contain the address of the deceased, making it difficult to ascertain that the individuals identified in the census were indeed those commemorated on the monument.

The Glasgow Necropolis' records were perhaps the most comprehensive of the five sites, containing addresses and plot numbers, as well as extra information regarding the class of funeral, the owner of the plot, the relation who oversaw the burial, and, during the earlier years, the cause of death. These records were not, however, digitised, but on microfilm and organised by date, as in the original format. This meant that when the date of death was uncertain, it was not possible to find the record and confirm the date, or any other aspect of identity, a significant disadvantage over the digitised systems. The listing of plot numbers was, however, a significant advantage (as will be seen in chapter seven) as these numbers were allocated in chronological sequences within the different areas of the cemetery, providing a wealth of chronological detail. It is possible to assess the relative rates of plot sales in different sections, and the time-lapses between plot purchase, plot usage, and monument erection. This data echoes Mytum's (2002b) work on the dating of monuments in suggesting that the temporal relationship between these events is not always straightforward, and defies casual generalisation.

Southampton Cemetery's records were still bound in their original leather binders and supplied similar information to those at Kensal Green (SCRBC; SCRBU). Fee books for the cemetery also survive and these provide greater detail, including plot numbers, which are allocated much as in the Glasgow Necropolis, but because the sections are smaller and contain fewer surveyed monuments, the chronological examination that these permit is less detailed. The fee books also provide information on the price of interment, and the extra fees incurred, for example for providing extra depth in the grave (6/-) or "turfing the grave in perpetuity" (£2/0/2) (SCRF). Burials from Bath Abbey Cemetery are included on the Bath Burial Index that belongs to the Bath Records Office, and only include name, age at death, and date of death. Plot numbers were not recorded.

Mapping

All of the above information was collated in an Access database, and the monuments were mapped onto digital renderings of the site plans. Monuments were mapped in layers of ten-year increments (based on estimated dates of erection), as well as by type. Temporal mapping is not unusual as it allows some sense of the development of the site as a whole (Mytum 2000:154), but in this case our maps are necessarily partial, reflecting the development of only a very specific part of the commemorative landscape. This partiality is an unavoidable consequence of the sampling methodology of this project, but it does not negate the value of these maps, which is to shift the unit of analysis away from the single monument in isolation, and allow us to look at the creation and ongoing use of these individual monuments as part of an interlinking set of practices which encompass other memorials and the landscape of which they were part.

These maps make it possible to look at the relative positions of monuments as they were erected and develop a sense of which other similar monuments purchasers would have likely seen on their routes through the cemetery to their particular grave plot. They make it possible to assess whether those commissioning monuments were choosing monuments similar to those nearby, or conversely whether they were more likely to choose monuments different from their neighbours' (Buckham 2005:151). Monuments and cemeteries may be predominantly associated with the high ritual of the funeral in the popular imagination, but grave visiting, as was demonstrated in chapter three, was often a much more regular, and habitual set of practices. These began before the burial, when the plot was chosen (and sometimes even before any specific death), and well before any monument stood over the grave. Even if the individuals involved had no knowledge of the cemetery and its commemorative landscape before this point, they would likely be familiar with it by the time they selected a monument.

Using monument maps as a way of accessing the landscape experience of those choosing and using monuments may seem counterintuitive. As Hamilton *et al* (2006:37) point out, maps have been cast as the antithesis of an experience-centred approach as they imply a distance between subject and object and collapse the three-dimensional, temporal, sensual world into a two-dimensional picture. In response to this, other methods of representing the landscape have been explored. Phenomenological approaches have often relied heavily on descriptions of landscapes by archaeologists (for example Tilley 1994), although photographs and various methods of mapping the situated experience of the subject have also been used (Hamilton *et al* 2006). These latter overlap with attempts to quantify aspects of human perception, for example through the use of Geographical Information Systems (GIS) as a means "to model human scales of geographical space and elements of human experience" (Rennell 2012:510).

Viewshed analysis has been one example of this approach (for example Trifcović 2008), which is intriguing from the point of view of this project, as it considers the inter-visibility of different landscape features. On the scale of the cemetery, however, these methods become problematic. Viewshed analysis works by mapping the distances at which the view from a single position becomes occluded, and can therefore be used to assess the inter-visibility of a series of points, or to create a continuous viewshed model of a landscape, with visibility mapped as graded colours, indicating whether visibility from each point on the map is high or low (Rennell 2012:519). These approaches can work well when applied to larger landscapes, but within cemeteries they face significant problems, not least because they do not cope well with the temporality of these sites. A viewshed would effectively collapse the chronology of the palimpsest cemetery landscape into a single present, obscuring its emergent character and the chronological detail that the monument survey work was intended to unravel. Secondly, as we are not concerned here with overall visibility, but the visibility of specific monuments, continuous viewshed maps would not be suitable. Rather, multiple viewsheds from the location of different monuments, and from paths, would be the best alternative, but for five cemeteries, with upwards of 1000 monuments surveyed overall this would be unworkable.

An adaptation of this form of analysis, in which panoramic photography replaced distance-measuring technology, was used by Cook (2011) in assessing the impact of visibility on monument choice in Hamilton Cemetery in Ontario. This faced similar problems relating to chronology, which Cook (ibid) countered by digitally removing monuments in order to approximate the site as it would have been at different moments. Again, however, applying this to five sites, and with so many monuments involved, would have been prohibitively time-consuming. Instead, this kind of approach has been used sparingly, only in relation to specific instances in which particular patterns of monument use appear to hinge upon the direct visual interconnection of monuments.

The temporally and typologically layered maps mostly suffice in providing a basis from which to discuss the interconnection of monument usage and the cemetery landscape. The reduced landscape of these maps is offered some three-dimensional detail through efforts to take the topography of the site and breaks in view caused by vegetation into account in analysis. This additional information comes from contoured maps, contemporary illustrations of the cemeteries, subsequent photography, and the admittedly subjective experience of the author in surveying these sites.

Statistical Analysis

Statistical analysis is not a central focus of this project, but some basic statistical tools were used in assessing patterns of monument use. Especially important was the ability to compare the usage of different forms by different groups, or in the commemoration of different relationships. The relative frequency with which one type was chosen over another in such circumstances might appear to be significant but it is important to be able to assess whether this is the case. For example, was the proportion of urn monuments to ringed crosses significantly higher in Nonconformist burials than Anglican ones in Kensal Green or was the distribution likely to have arisen as a result of sampling errors or random variation?

Effectively this involved comparing proportions of different samples, and the most well known statistical method for achieving this is probably the chi-square test. This test is not, however, suited to samples in which the expected cell-count (the number of instances falling into any given category) is low (Drennan 2009:190). The Fisher's exact test was therefore used instead, as it "can be applied regardless of how low the expected cell values are" (ibid:193, see also Vanpool and Leonard 2011:250). This is important because although the overall sample size for this project is high, as soon as it is subdivided (into different cemeteries, different monument types, and different subsections within cemeteries) the numbers become quite low. Most of the Fisher's exact tests in this project are 2x2 grids, comparing two variables, for example urn and obelisk use in comparison to Gothic cross use, in the consecrated and unconsecrated sections of Southampton Cemetery.

	Number of Gothic crosses	Number of urns and obelisks
Consecrated section	9	19
Unconsecrated section	0	11

Figure 4.11 Comparison of the numbers of urns, obelisks, and Gothic crosses in the consecrated and unconsecrated sections of Southampton Cemetery.

The Fisher's exact test uses this data to calculate a probability value, or P-value, the value of which is used to either accept or reject the null hypothesis. The Fisher's exact test produces two P-values, one that is applicable to two-sided hypotheses (two-tailed significance) and one that is applicable to one-sided hypotheses (one-tailed significance). An example of the former would be: "urn/obelisk use and Gothic cross use is the same in the consecrated and unconsecrated sections of Southampton Cemetery". This is two-sided because it could be that the hypothesis is disproved because the hypothesis could be rejected either because there are more Gothic crosses and fewer urns/obelisks in the consecrated section than the unconsecrated, *or* because there are more Gothic crosses and fewer urns/obelisks in the *un*consecrated section than the *consecrated*. An example of the latter would be: "urns/obelisks are used more frequently in the unconsecrated section of Southampton Cemetery than in the consecrated section". This is single-sided because there is only one way in which it can be rejected. The threshold for significance in either case is set at P=0.05, and when P-values are presented it will always be specified whether they are one-tailed or two-tailed. In the above case, the two-tailed significance was 0.04, and the one-tailed significance was 0.033, meaning that in both cases the null hypothesis should be rejected, and that the difference between the usage of these monument forms in the two sections is significant.

Archive Material

As was discussed earlier, censuses, Post Office directories and burial records were a significant source of documentary evidence that contributed towards interpretation of the surveyed material. The minutes of the Southampton Cemetery Committee (SCCCM 1841-1843; SCCCM 1843-1870) have also already been mentioned, and these provided insight into the pressures on burial space, the tension regarding the religious topography of the site, and the way in which the Cemetery Committee framed the landscape they were founding. In addition to these, the Southampton City Archive also holds the fee registers of Southampton Cemetery (SCRF 1846-1851; SCRF 1852-1860; SCRF 1860-1867; SCRF1867-1875). These registers provide an insight into the cost of purchasing space and interment in the cemetery, and the expectations surrounding this.

For example, in 1852 Mrs Thompson, the widow of Benjamin Delap Thompson (who is buried beneath a tall pink-granite obelisk, monument 1012), paid an extra £2/3/6. on top of the basic single interment fee of £1/7/0. in order to purchase the plot in perpetuity (SCRF 1852-1860). She chose to do this two weeks after the burial had taken place. This indicates that, although permanent purchase was available, it was not necessarily taken up by cemetery users, even when erecting large monuments. Another obelisk, erected in 1865 to the memory of Josiah Dowley, stands over a plot for which no extra fee for permanent ownership appears to have been paid (SCRF 1860-1867). It is unfortunate that the standard period of purchase associated with the sale of a 'single interment' is not recorded, as it seems likely either that purchasers felt this term was long enough for their needs, or that it afforded enough time for them to decide later to purchase the rights in perpetuity. A decision to not pay the extra fee for permanent purchase would have been well judged, as there is no evidence of plot reuse in the cemetery.

The comparative rarity of perpetual purchase in Southampton is further indicated by the list of interment fees, which shows that there were several options aside from purchasing a plot in perpetuity: two classes of common (shared) graves could be purchased, costing either 4/6, or 9/6, and single interment (the duration of the purchaser's sole rights to these plots is unknown) could be bought for £1/7/-, with the interment fees for any of these being 3/- (SCRF 1852-1860). Interestingly, when these prices are compared with contemporaneous Glasgow Necropolis fees, interment in the Necropolis is actually slightly cheaper: 2/- to 4/- for interment in shared vault, depending on age of deceased and the "style of the vault" (Blair 1857:369), and 2/6 to 7/6 for "single graves in private ground without the right of property", depending on the age of the deceased (ibid:369). For reference, half of Glasgow's middle classes had incomes of less than £100 p/a in the 1860s (Nenadic 1996:272), making an outlay of 2/- significantly more affordable than £1/7/-. This disparity may be due to the fact that, by 1857, the Glasgow Necropolis was openly competing with several other cemeteries for the profitable common interment trade (Scott 2005a:148), whereas until the opening of the St Mary's Extra Burial Board Cemetery (also known as the Itchen Urban District Burial Board Cemetery) in 1879, Southampton was largely served by the Old Cemetery. Furthermore, it appears that a 'single interment' in Southampton effectively entitled the purchaser to erect a monument whereas, in the Necropolis, "without the right of property" appears to have excluded the possibility of memorial erection.

The fee records of these sites are a useful insight into how the commemorative choices of individual families fitted into the broader economic context of the cemetery and the local provision of burial space. They also make it clear that, as Rugg (2013b:343) argues, although cemeteries provided plot sales in perpetuity, common interments were still common, and there was often a degree of ambiguity regarding the distinction between plots purchased for a fixed term, and those purchased in perpetuity. The contrast between the commemorative experiences afforded by permanent and fixed-term plot purchase was not always as stark as a comparison of Walker's (1839) accounts of London burial grounds and the splendour of a site like Kensal Green might lead one to expect.

As well as these documents, the business records of two monumental masons' companies were examined. Buckham's (1999, 2000) work on the records of the York Cemetery Company's monumental masonry operation and those of another local mason, William Plows, has demonstrated that these types of material can significantly contribute to understanding how monuments were chosen, the processes through which they were purchased, and the constraints placed by the local masonry market on monument purchasers' options.

Monumental masons' records are not, however, often well preserved. As the market changed through the 20th century many companies were bought or closed and their records were lost. In the cities in which cemeteries were surveyed for this project only two sets of monumental masons' records from the sample period were located. In the Southampton City Archives, records belonging to the local masons' firm Garrett and Haysom were found, the most relevant of these comprising a general ledger dated 1851-1856 (GHL 1851-1856); a monumental ledger dated 1867-1877 (GHML 1867-1877); two monumental order books dated 1845-1880 and 1866-1874 (GHMO 1845-1880; GHMO 1866- 874); and three day books dated 1851, 1855, and 1867 (GHDB 1851; GHDB 1855; GHDB 1867).

Unfortunately, the Garrett and Haysom records do not contain much detail regarding the ordering or commissioning process for monuments, merely containing records of the jobs taken. Nor do any of the company's pattern books appear to have survived. There is, however, a volume of hand-drawn maps of the cemetery belonging to the company and dating to some time in the late 1880s, which illustrate the positions of monuments they had undertaken, presumably to that date (GHM c.1880s). This volume is in the possession of the Friends of Southampton Old Cemetery, and is highly unusual. It indicates the continuing character of the relationship between masons and the monuments they produced, although it is unclear whether monuments' positions were recorded to facilitate their upkeep, or whether it was the company's way of keeping track of what was effectively a three-dimensional reference collection of their patterns (Figure 4.12). It was not possible to connect any of the numbers on the map with any details from the company's ledgers or day books, nor was it possible to associate any of the monuments surveyed in the cemetery with any documents from the company.

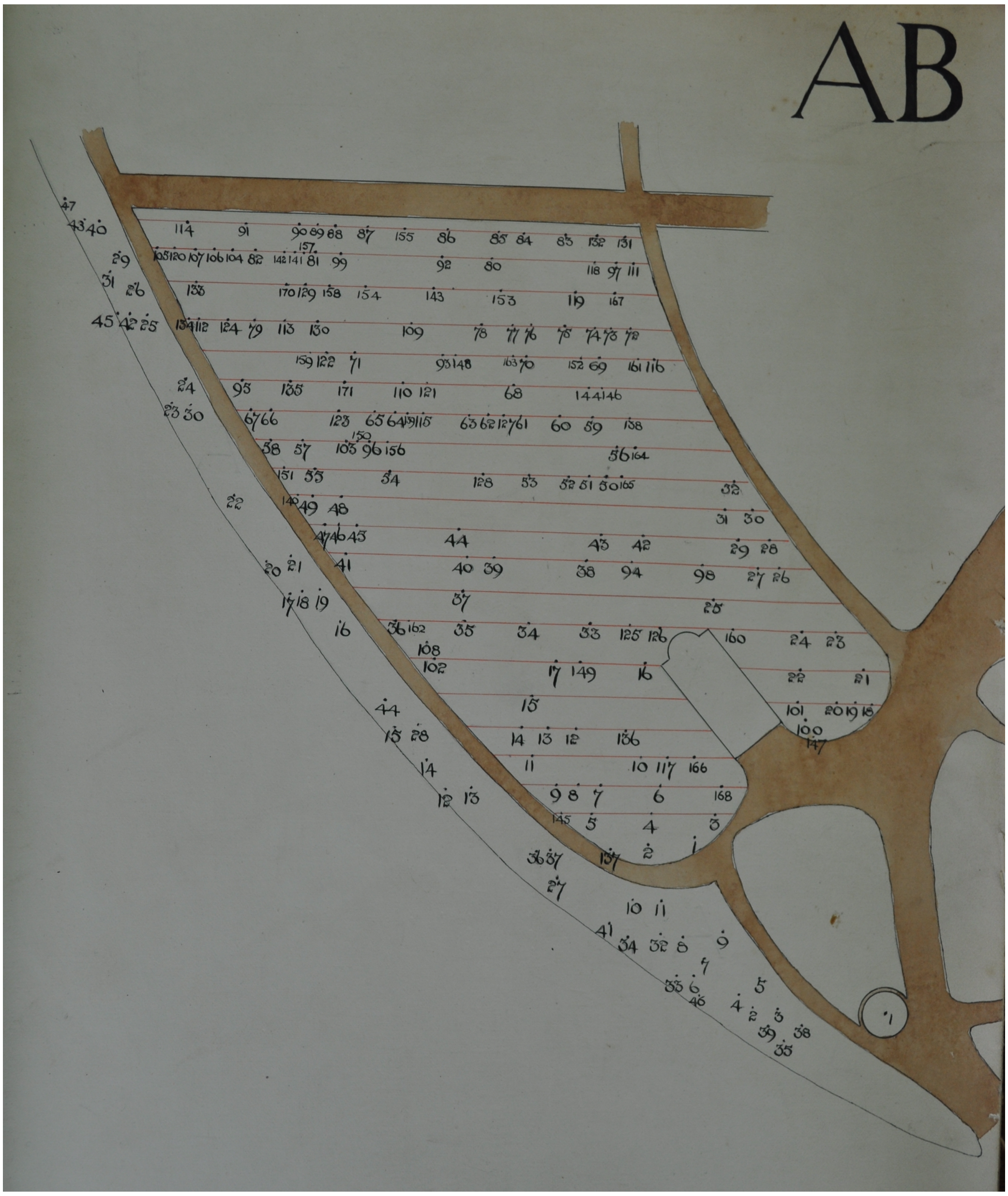


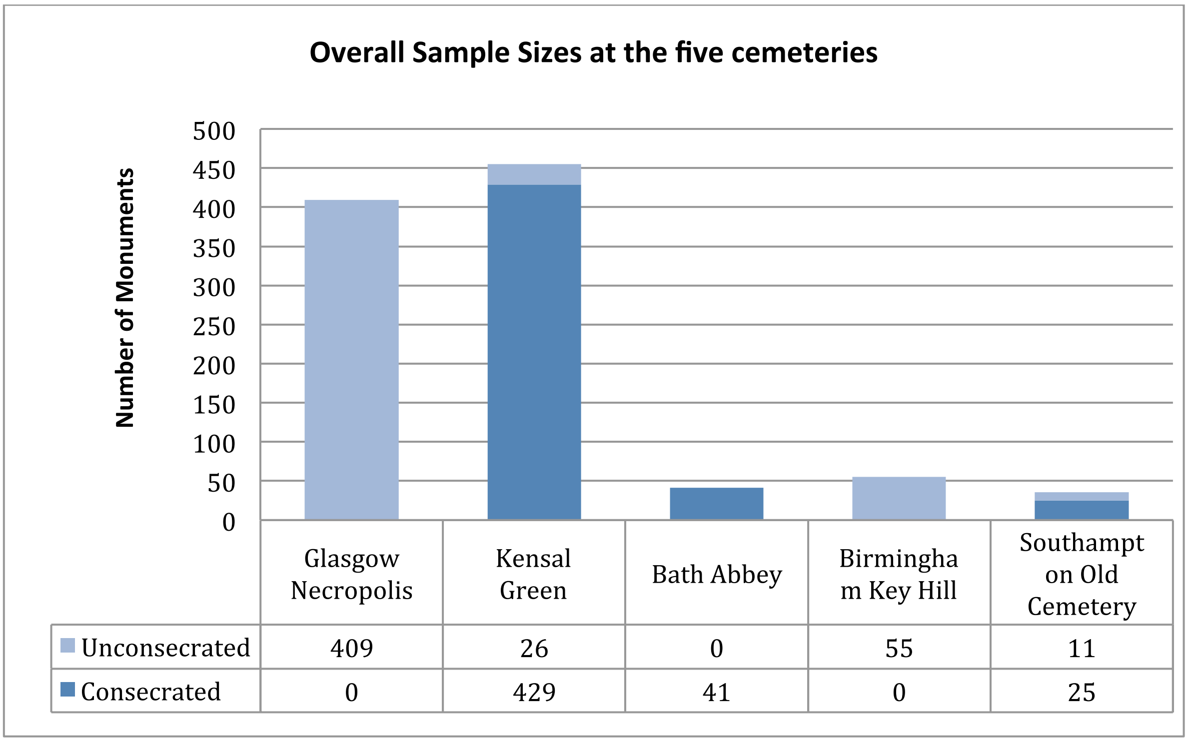
Figure 4.12 Garrett and Haysom map of a section of Southampton Cemetery, c.1880s, courtesy of the Friends of Southampton Old Cemetery. (GHM c.1880s , courtesy of the Friends of Southampton Old Cemetery. Photograph: author, 2012.)

This was not the case with the other set of mason's records, which belong to the Glasgow firm, Mossman. A single job-book remains from the period of survey, covering the years just after the opening of the Necropolis, from 1835 to 1839 (MJB 1835-1839). Although the material from this company covers a much smaller period of time, it provides significantly more narrative detail regarding the processes through which monuments were commissioned. Furthermore, because several jobs described in the volume can be associated with surveyed memorials, they offer much more definite information regarding the costs involved and the time frames in which purchase and erection would take place in relation to specific deaths. The job-book was written by John Mossman, the patriarch of the company, and his notes describe sending drawings to customers, discussing designs with them, and comparing designs for future monuments with others already executed, giving a detailed impression of how the commissioning process unfolded. The Mossman job-book also offers insight into the wider organisation of monumental masonry in Glasgow, which was more developed than in many areas because of the large quarries surrounding the city. Mossman appears to have undertaken a variety of sculpting and inscribing jobs for other masons, suggesting a hierarchy of specialism and sub-contracting within the industry, which brings into question the relationship between masons' marks and the actual authorship of monuments in the cemetery. Monument marks, usually inscribed on the right hand side of a monument's base and indicating the mason responsible, were much more common in the Glasgow Necropolis than in the other sampled cemeteries, perhaps because of the large number of masons operating in the city and competing for trade. The interrelationship of commemorative practice with the monumental masonry trade is discussed in further detail in chapter seven.

Overview of the samples

Overall, 1000 legible monuments which could be dated to the surveyed period were surveyed in the five cemeteries. In sheer numbers, the Glasgow Necropolis and Kensal Green samples dominate, with each contributing over 400 monuments. The other three sites contribute only a tiny fraction of this. In religious terms, the sample is almost exactly split between monuments erected on consecrated and unconsecrated ground, but this characterisation is misleading as the significance of unconsecrated ground is radically different in the Glasgow Necropolis as a result of the distinct Scottish religious context (see chapter six). Taking this into account, it might be more appropriate to consider the sample as split into three sections; consecrated, English unconsecrated, and Scottish unconsecrated, in which case, the monuments erected in English unconsecrated areas are by far in the minority. This is largely because of the small size of the Nonconformist section of Kensal Green, which is only approximately 15 acres in comparison to the roughly 55 acres eventually consecrated, after the extension of the site in the 1850s (Curl 2001:190).

It should be further noted that the total number of monuments surveyed at each site is often not identical with the total number of monuments presented and discussed in relation to a specific set of questions. This is because not all classes of data were available for each monument. For example, if the exact date is not known and falls across two date-categories, a monument might be excluded from discussion of chronology, or if the commemorative subjects of a monument could not be located in any census returns, the monument might be excluded from discussion of servant employment or occupations. These exclusions will always be acknowledged.



	Glasgow Necropolis	Kensal Green	Bath Abbey	Birmingham Key Hill	Southampton Old Cemetery
■ Unconsecrated	409	26	0	55	11
■ Consecrated	0	429	41	0	25

Figure 4.13 Overall sample sizes at the five cemeteries.

As well as the surveyed monuments summarised in Figure 4.13, illegible monuments were also mapped and recorded, albeit in less detail. The numbers of these illegible monuments varied significantly between samples; in Kensal Green nearly 300 illegible monuments were counted, whereas in the Glasgow Necropolis, only 36 were counted (Figure 4.14). The other three sites had a handful of illegible monuments. These differences are likely to be the consequences of differences in the materials used for monuments at each site.

The rate of illegibility at the Glasgow Necropolis is likely to be low because a high proportion of monuments were granite, as a result of the local granite trade and the development of granite-cutting technology in nearby Aberdeen (see chapter seven). When the *surveyed* monuments at Kensal Green and the Glasgow Necropolis are compared, the relative proportions of different materials are not very different (there are 144 granite monuments in the Kensal Green survey and 166 in that of the Glasgow Necropolis) but it is likely that the majority of the *unsurveyed* illegible monuments in Kensal Green were either sandstone or limestone, both of which are much more susceptible to erosion by frost-thaw and wind than granite (Robinson 2001:281). Unfortunately, the material of illegible monuments was not consistently recorded so it is not possible to be certain that this is the reason, but it is the most convincing explanation currently available.

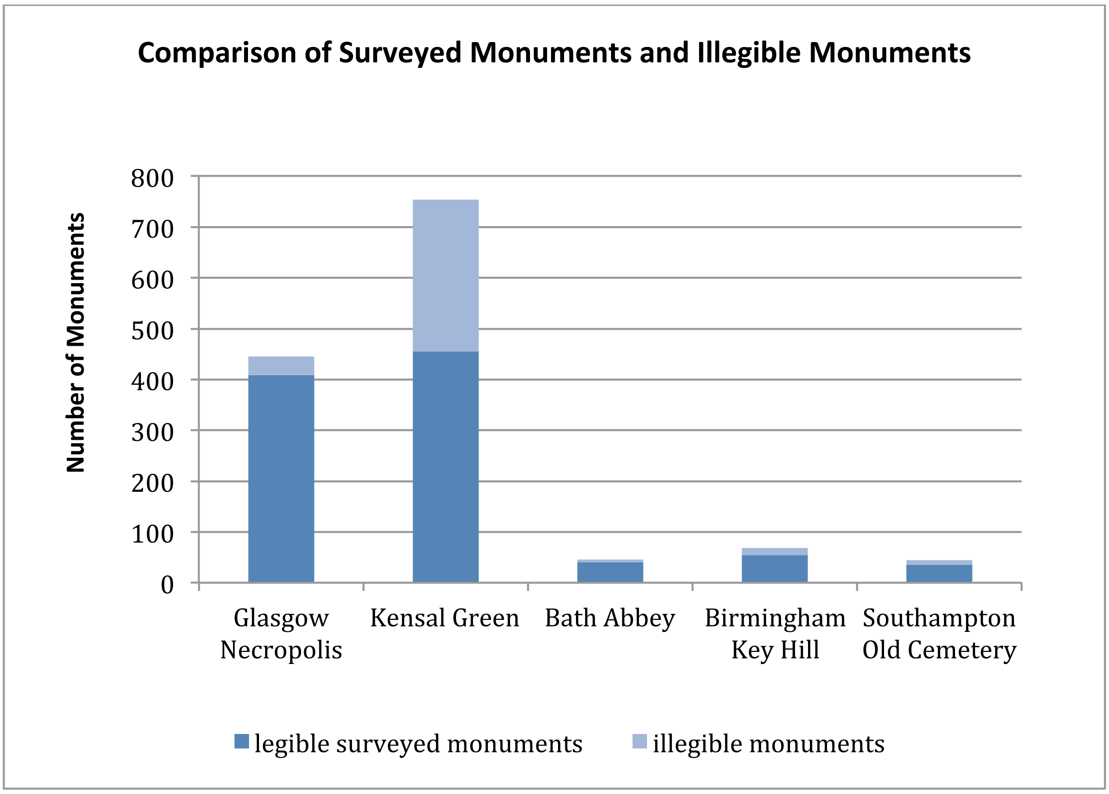


Figure 4.14 Comparison of surveyed monuments and illegible monuments at the five sites.

One point that is worth making at this juncture is the small proportion that the sampled monument types represent of the entire monumental body. It is difficult to develop a sense of just how small a proportion this is without a much broader survey of the overall monumental body at each site, but plot numbers and burial numbers can help. For example, because Kensal Green plot numbers were allocated on a single continuous chronology, we can plot the rate at which the monuments in our survey were erected against the plot numbers in use at any given time (Figure 4.15). Given that Kensal Green is renowned as being one of the most elaborate cemeteries of this period, it is surprising how small a fraction of the overall number of plots were marked with monuments of these types, types which are often seen as archetypal of 19th-century commemoration. In the other cemeteries, in which plot numbers are allocated either entirely by location on the basis of chronologies within different sections, this kind of overall comparison is difficult, but the rates of erection and plot sales in the Glasgow Necropolis are discussed in chapter seven. It seems likely that in the other sites, the surveyed monuments would belong to an even smaller proportion of the total number of graves.

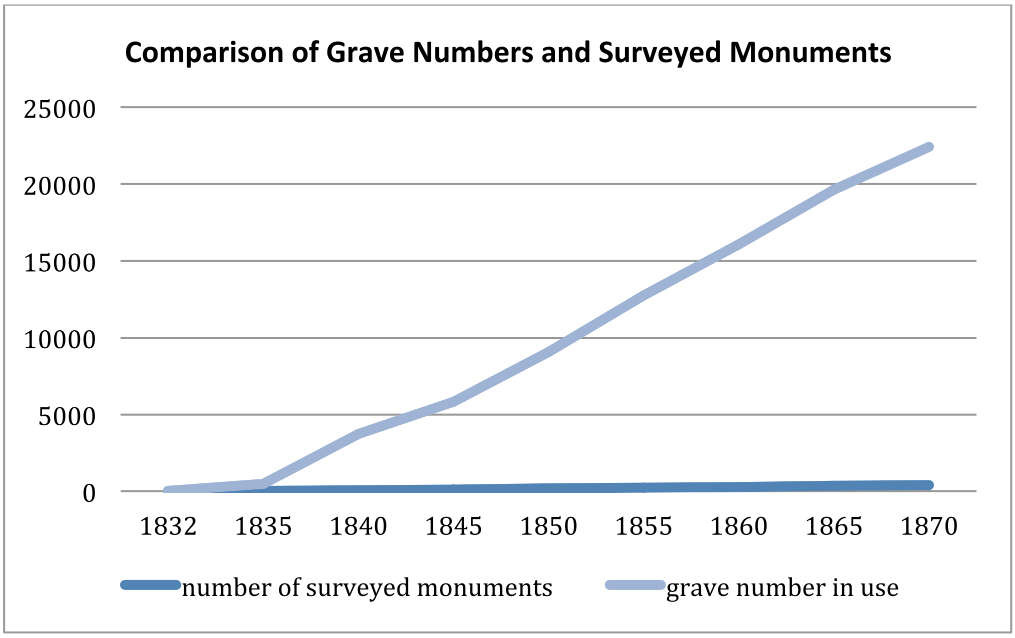


Figure 4.15 Comparison of grave numbers and surveyed monuments in both sections of Kensal Green.

Comparing the numbers of surveyed monuments to the overall number of burials makes the rarity of these monuments even clearer, even in a site as elaborate as Kensal Green (Figure 4.16). These comparisons also make it clear just how, over time, the ratio of plot sales to burials shifted, as an increasing proportion of burials took place in plots that had already been used. The extent of this divergence (between plot numbers and burial numbers) varied between cemeteries, largely as a result of the different types of grave structures typically used, and the interplay of this variation with commemorative practice more generally is explored in chapter seven.

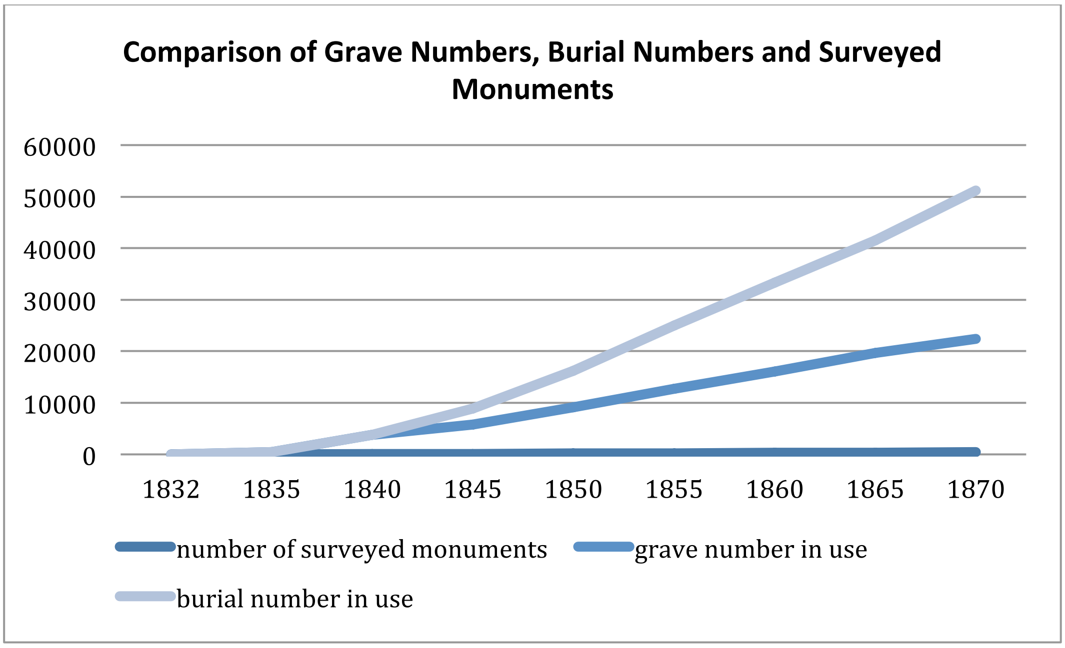


Figure 4.16 Comparison of grave numbers, burial numbers, and surveyed monuments in both sections of Kensal Green.

The comparative scarcity of the surveyed monuments is not the result of grave clearance; all of the cemeteries have survived fairly intact since the 19th century. Indeed, this is one of the reasons that these sites were chosen. The only site to have suffered from significant destruction of the monumental body is Key Hill, where a series of clearances took place in the early 1950s and again in the 1960s. The earlier of these clearances was recorded by one Mr Pike, who was an official at the cemetery, and who kept a list (not in the possession of either the Jewellery Quarter Research Trust or the Friends of Warstone Lane and Key Hill) of the monuments that were buried. Further clearances took place in the 1960s and were not recorded. These clearances were intended to reduce the maintenance costs of the cemetery by making grass cutting easier, and mostly consisted of burying flat tablet monuments, which comprised a significant part of the monumental body at this site, as can be seen from Figure 4.17. Very few pedestal monuments were affected, but some upright tablet memorials were. Of the monument types included in this survey, the only ones to be regularly found as upright tablets rather than pedestal memorials are Gothic crosses. It is important to bear this in mind when comparing the relative frequencies of monument forms at this site. The only other clearance of the cemetery took place when the railway was expanded and six rows of monuments on the east edge of the site were removed, but this area of the cemetery was not in use during the surveyed period. Perhaps the most striking loss at the site is the destruction of the chapel, which was demolished in 1966. In comparison to the neighbouring Anglican cemetery, Warstone Lane, which has been 'extensively cleared' (Shackley 2001), the monument assemblage at Key Hill is relatively complete, especially with regard to upright monuments.

Figure 4.17 Birmingham Key Hill Cemetery chapel, viewed from the southwest c.1919 (photo courtesy of the Friends of Warstone Lane and Key Hill Cemeteries, www.fkwc.org).

Aside from the clearance at Key Hill, the preservation issue with which the sample is faced is the loss at some sites of the top-elements of significant numbers of monuments. Specifically, this affects the sample of urns. Only the Glasgow Necropolis, Birmingham Key Hill, and the consecrated section of Kensal Green displayed this pattern, and its severity varied considerably between sites. At these sites, numerous 'probable urn bases' were identified; pedestal monuments upon which the base or stem of an urn remained (see Figure 4.18), or on the top of which the footprint of the urn could be discerned through differential weathering. Clearly, in these cases it is usually not possible to ascertain whether the missing element is a draped or undraped urn. Furthermore, in those cases in which the only indication of a missing element's form is its footprint, it is not possible to be certain that it is an urn that is missing rather than a less common element, such as a miniature sarcophagus, a sculpted figure, or even a cross. However, the shape of the footprint of miniature sarcophagi is distinct from that of an urn, and elements, which have higher centres of gravity, like crosses tend to be attached to the base with a central metal pin, meaning that, even if the top is lost, a section of the element often remains which clearly indicates it's original form. However, given the necessary uncertainty regarding this category of monument, it should be flagged as a point of weakness within the affected samples.

Figure 4.18 Monument number 3019, (Glasgow Necropolis), Guild family monument, 1839. The stem of a now absent urn can be seen on the top of the monument. Visible in the background is memorial number 3408, which has recently been repainted, and is a close approximation of how many monuments would have originally looked. (Photograph: author, 2013.)

The Glasgow Necropolis sample is by far the most affected, with nearly 40% (95/251) of the 'urn' monuments actually lacking their urns. In Key Hill this figure is 24% (7/29), and in Kensal Green it is 8% (18/225). Why the Necropolis should have suffered so many losses is unclear. The overall proportion of monuments classified as 'damaged' in some way, including leaning as a result of subsidence, is higher at the Necropolis than Kensal Green or Key Hill; 37% of all surveyed monuments were classified as damaged or leaning at the Necropolis as opposed to 28% at Kensal Green and 33% at Key Hill. This difference does not seem sufficiently large to account for the much larger proportion of monuments missing their top elements. All three of these sites have suffered vandalism and misuse to varying degrees, in the form of graffiti, stone-toppling, and appropriation by dispossessed communities such as drug addicts and the homeless. One mausoleum in Kensal Green was still, as of September 2013, clearly being used as a makeshift home.

The high proportion of missing urns does not, then, seem likely to be simply the result of differential rates of vandalism or robbing. Rather, it may result from the fact that the Necropolis is more closely monitored and maintained to a much neater standard than the other cemeteries in this survey. Urns which have fallen but which are still present on the ground surrounding the monument are not counted here as missing, and many urns in Kensal Green are to be found in this location. This was far less often the case in the Necropolis, where it seems that these fallen elements are cleared away to facilitate mowing and to maintain the cared-for appearance of the site. The policy through which the Necropolis retains its draw as a tourist attraction may be simultaneously compromising its value as a resource for researchers. This is not an unfamiliar set of trade-offs.

Chapter 5 Grouping monuments, Grouping People: Obelisks at Southampton Cemetery and Bath Abbey Cemetery.

This chapter is focused on the samples from two cemeteries and, more specifically, on the usage of obelisks at these sites. One of the questions central to this project is whether differences can be identified between monument forms in terms of the identities of their commemorative subjects, their erectors, or the relationships between the two. An interest in this possibility does not necessitate following Wobst (1977) in casting style as a means of signalling fixed identities. Instead, as was discussed earlier, style and consumption are seen here as socially constructive practices through which the world is made meaningful. Indeed, by comparing monument use at these two sites it becomes clear that the meanings conjured by specific memorial forms are neither fixed nor singular, but arise out of the (socially and materially) situated practices of which they are a constitutive part. At times, the identities of the living and the deceased become woven into these practices and thereby become tied into the meanings with which these forms are associated in these particular contexts. At both sites, permanent commemoration with large monument forms was a new departure for the local population and the contrasting uses of monuments between these two settings indicates this and illustrates the extent to which early cemetery commemoration comprised a set of heterogeneous practices. In unpicking the patterns of monument use at these two sites, we are led to explore the mutually constructive relationships between these developing cemetery landscapes and the communities which buried their dead there.

The idea that monuments might relate to the identity of the deceased is far from new, and is certainly not limited to 19th-century commemorative material. Religion is probably the first identifier to come to mind in this context, but if we put this to one side (for consideration in the next chapter), there are other aspects of identity that have been associated with memorial designs in previous studies. Buckham (2005:151, 2008:168) described the use of miniature monuments for children's graves in York, and Parker Pearson (1982:104) described the distinctive use of "large white marble angels" by 'gypsy' families in

Cambridge city cemetery. Two things are notable about these associations between a particular social group and a particular monument form (or in the case of the child-burials in York, a defining monument *scale*). Firstly, there is no suggestion that these associations are limited to the sites being discussed, or that they developed through the specificity of commemorative practice as undertaken at those sites, and as written into the landscape there; the development of these associations is effectively located *outside* the cemetery. In the York example, Buckham (2008:170) does connect the emergence of miniaturised monuments with the introduction of small children's plots by the cemetery administration, and thereby to a shift in the construction of the landscape, but she attributes both this change in the landscape and the use of miniature monuments to a generally increasing recognition of children as a distinct social group.

The alternative to this approach is to consider the possibility that changing commemorative practices and the development of specific meanings for particular forms of commemorative architecture might develop *within* and *through* the landscape of the cemetery, rather than arising elsewhere and becoming manifest in these sites. This is not to suggest that all the meanings associated with commemorative material develop within the landscape, or that these sites are somehow insulated from the world beyond their walls, but simply to redress the balance which currently favours the location of processes of change outside the cemetery. The question of how to differentiate between wider patterns of association and change from those which should be seen as part of the developing relationship between landscape and community will be explored through this chapter.

Secondly, both Parker Pearson and Buckham's examples are related to what might be considered *defining* identities, identities (age and ethnicity) that in death have been rendered totalising representations of the deceased. This raises a question as to what other identities might become associated with commemorative forms, and whether these are necessarily as totalising as the above examples suggest. Further, we may ask how the association of form and identity might be reinterpreted and reimagined with the subsequent usage of the monument, as new and different commemorative subjects are added, who may or may not share the identity of the original occupant. Finally, whereas age and ethnicity are imagined as properties inherent to the individual (despite being relational), how might the association of a particular monument form with explicitly *relational* identities unfold, and how might this differ from the former?

The patterns of monument use that form the centre of this chapter allow us to address these questions; how should we interpret the commemorative landscape as intersecting with the development of different commemorative practices? How do we differentiate between those practices that develop within a specific landscape and in relation to a specific community from those which are a localised manifestation of a broader set of associations that developed outside the cemetery context? What kinds of identities become articulated with specific monument forms in commemoration in different places, and how are these negotiated through the ongoing use of monuments? We are asking, at base, what these commemorative practices mean and how they develop.

The Sites

Bath Abbey and Southampton Cemetery are very different cemeteries, as was indicated in the overview of the cemeteries selected for this study presented in the previous chapter. It is worth outlining the sites and samples in a little more detail in order to provide some context for the particular patterns we are to discuss.

Bath Abbey Cemetery

Bath Abbey Cemetery opened in 1844 and was the first cemetery in Bath. Before then, the city had been served by the churchyards and crypts of its various parish churches, one of which was Bath Abbey, its name a remnant of its monastic past. As Rugg *et al* (2014) have illustrated, however, the burial history of a settlement is often more complicated than accounts focused on cemetery development might indicate. As well as parish burial facilities, Bath boasted a number of Nonconformist burial grounds associated with chapels, including Quaker, Baptist, Methodist, Unitarian, and Independent spaces. These were very small burial grounds, however, and most residents of Bath were buried in the city's parish churches and churchyards. By the beginning of the 19th century these were becoming overcrowded. Some churches extended their churchyards, like Thomas à Becket Church, the parish church of Widcombe, which extended its burial ground across the road onto what had been a bowling alley. Three new Commissioners' churches were constructed in the city between 1819 and 1831: Holy Trinity (1819-1822), St Saviour's (1829-1831) and St Marks (1830-1831). Holy Trinity did not provide any burial space, but the latter two did. In fact, St Marks was added to a churchyard extension that had been opened five years before, a pattern identified by Rugg *et al* in Sheffield (ibid:635). These various additions went some way towards alleviating the overall pressure on Bath, but this did not alter Bath Abbey's immediate situation, nor did any of the new churchyards or extensions resemble cemeteries, or offer plot purchase on the clear cut terms of a cemetery.

As was mentioned in chapter three, Bath Abbey's crypt had been 'full' for some time by the 1840s, and the church did not possess any outdoor space for burials; all bodies simply went into the crypt. By the late 1830s the situation had become untenable, and with no space available near the church, and the bureaucracy of the established Church offering little indication that an extension elsewhere would be forthcoming, the Abbey's Rector, William Brodrick (1798-1870) began the process of founding a private cemetery. This was a highly unusual move, and the Bath Abbey Cemetery occupies a unique position, supporting Rugg's (2013a) argument that the line between churchyard and cemetery is not as absolute as has sometimes been suggested.

It is unclear how much support (tacit or practical) Brodrick received from the Church authorities beyond the eventual consecration of the site by the Bishop of Salisbury. Certainly, the church did not supply the bulk of the funding for the purchasing and laying out of the site and the construction of the chapel. This does not appear to have been a significant hindrance to Brodrick, who was the son of the Archbishop of Cashel (in Co. Tipperary), and became Viscount Midleton of Midleton in County Cork upon his brother's death in 1863. He was therefore able to use his family's private funds to purchase the necessary ground, and reimbursed himself by taking the cemetery's fees for the duration of his term as Rector of the Abbey (which he left in 1863 to become the dean of Exeter). By 1851 Brodrick was receiving £500 annually from the site (Rutherford 2005).

That Brodrick envisaged the cemetery as something more than a churchyard extension is indicated by the position of the tract of land that he chose, with its appealing views over the Widcombe valley (Figure 5.1), and by the fact that he approached the pre-eminent cemetery designer of the period. By choosing J. C. Loudon, with his vision of cemeteries as “spaces of enlightenment accessible to all” (Dewis 2014:161), Brodrick signalled that his vision for the site went beyond a simple overflow for the church crypt. Loudon published his plan for the site in his 1843 volume, *On the Laying Out, Planting, and Managing of Cemeteries, and on the Improvement of Churchyards*, although the shape of the site shown in this design is different from that of Bath Abbey Cemetery. The plan shown in Loudon’s volume involved snaking carriageways planted with avenues of trees and enclosing irregular sections of ground for burial, but it was never realised.

Figure 5.1 View north-east across Bath Abbey Cemetery and the Widcombe valley towards Thomas à Becket Church in Widcombe. (Photograph: author, 2013.)

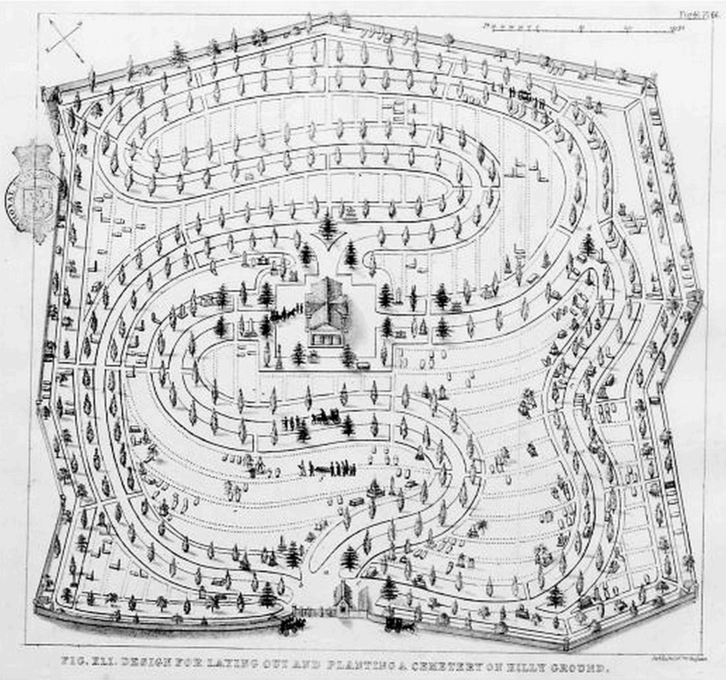


Figure 5.2 Loudon's 'Design for a hill cemetery showing a variety of funerary transport' which was the never-realised plan for Bath Abbey Cemetery. Compare to **Figure 5.4**. (Loudon 1843, reprinted in Dewis 2014:162.)

Why Loudon's plans were altered is not clear; Dewis (ibid:161) argues that all three of Loudon's designs for cemeteries (Histon Road Cemetery in Cambridge and Southampton Cemetery were the other two) were changed in order to render the sites more picturesque. It is doubtful that this was the entire reason; certainly at Southampton there were religious as much as aesthetic concerns regarding the design, and the changes made at Bath Abbey appear to have, if anything, rendered the plan *less* picturesque, interrupting the meandering flow of the paths and reorganising the burial plots into serried ranks. An axial path was introduced, bringing focus to the chapel, which was relocated to the southern end of the cemetery, overlooking the site. The reasons may not be entirely clear, but it seems that the individual responsible for these changes was George Manners, the architect employed to design the cemetery chapel. The chapel, which has 90 (mostly unused) catacombs underneath it, is round-arched Anglo-Norman in style, and appears disproportionately tall and thin as it was initially intended to have two cloister wings providing space for loculi.

Figures 5.3 Bath Abbey Chapel, constructed in 1844 to designs by George Manners 1844. (Photograph: author, 2013.)

The chapel stands at the top of the site, which comprises a triangular piece of sloping ground sloping towards the northeast. The slope runs from its highest point to the west of the chapel at the southern end, to its lowest at the main entrance at the northern apex of the site. The burial space is divided into seven numbered compartments: burial area *i* is to the east of the chapel, looking down the carriageway that runs up the cemetery's eastern side; *ii* and *iii* are directly in front/beneath the chapel, sloping down northwards and enclosed within an oval turning circle; *iv* to *vii* are further down the hill, sloping fairly evenly down to the north. The east side of the site is significantly lower than the west, but most of this gradient is concentrated in a sharp fall between the eastern edge of the burial plots and the carriageway below. This means that, on entering the site, the bulk of the landscape is hidden some metres above. Following the carriageway south, the cemetery appears as the route divides around the oval turning circle. This abrupt revealing of the chapel and monuments, and of the view of the valley below, is perhaps the great advantage of the layout of the site as it was realised. Loudon's plans would not have afforded this experience of abruptly arriving in the centre of the site. There are other routes through the site. If the visitor is on foot they may climb sharply from the main entrance to join the northern end of the central path, and pass along it through the main burial area to the chapel above, or take the path along the western side of the cemetery.

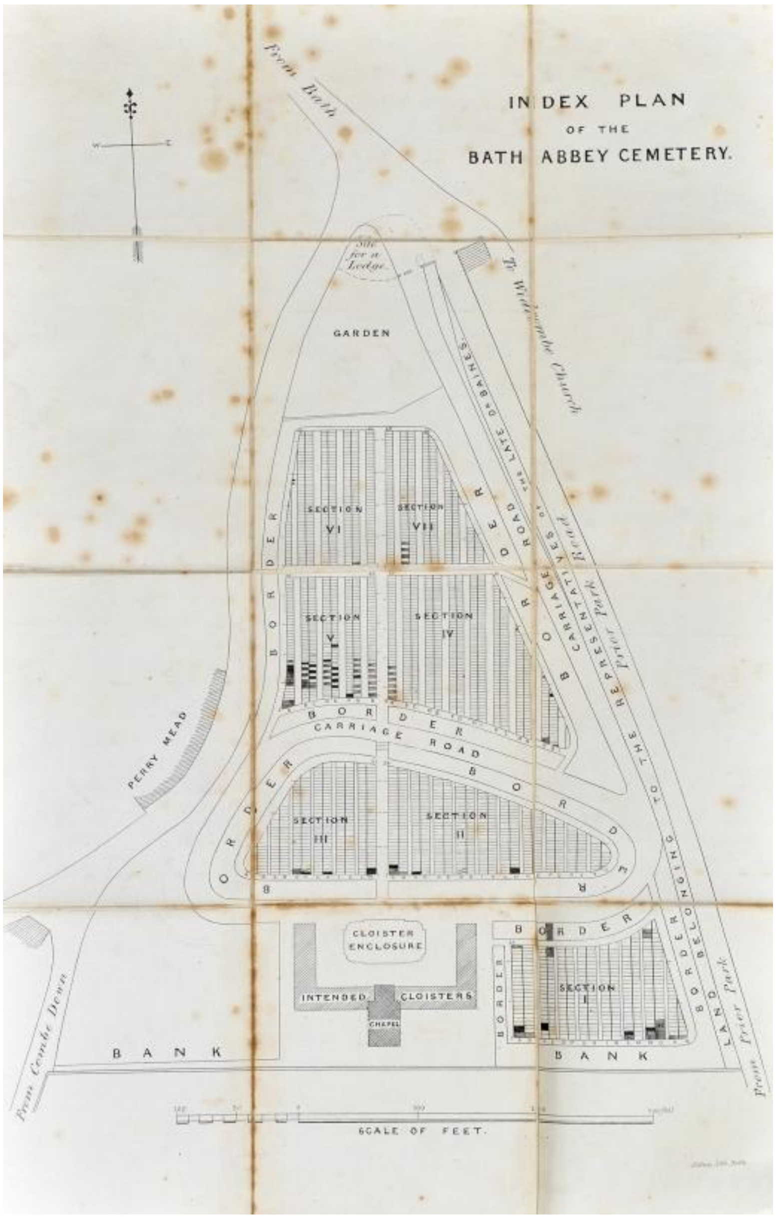


Figure 5.4 Original map of the Bath Abbey Cemetery showing the chapel's proposed cloisters (courtesy of Bath Abbey www.bathabbey.org).

The cemetery was consecrated in January 1844, and the first burial took place in February. Custom was initially slow, possibly because of concern regarding being buried away from the church, but in May of that year, William Beckford (1760-1844), novelist, M.P., art collector, and Bath resident, died and was buried at the cemetery. This helped to popularise the site, which remained the only cemetery in the city for only four years, when William Beckford's private pleasure grounds, complete with a Roman temple-like tower, were converted into Lansdown Cemetery, opened in 1848. This meant that Bath was served by two highly unusual Anglican burial spaces but had no Nonconformist or interdenominational cemeteries. Through the 1850s and 1860s, further burial space opened in the city: a Catholic cemetery at Perrymead in 1855; a detached churchyard extension for (Anglican) St Mary's in Bathwick in 1855; a burial board cemetery addition to this churchyard, called Smallcombe Vale in 1861, which provided consecrated and unconsecrated space and catered largely to the labouring classes; St James' Cemetery (actually the parish cemetery of Lyncombe and Widcombe) in 1861; and Locksbrook Cemetery in 1864. This is not an exhaustive list, but gives an impression of how the burial landscape in Bath changed in the 20 years following the opening of Bath Abbey Cemetery. Whereas when the cemetery opened, it had been the only site in which permanent commemoration in plots purchased in perpetuity could be undertaken with confidence that the site would not become congested, by the end of the surveyed period it was one of several. It is worth bearing this shift in mind when considering the developing commemorative practices and landscape at the Abbey Cemetery.

Southampton Cemetery

Despite also being based on designs by Loudon and also containing a Norman Revival chapel, Southampton Cemetery stands in sharp contrast to Bath Abbey Cemetery in terms of the organisational forces responsible for its creation; the arrangement of space within the site; the religious landscape which that arrangement endorsed; the community that it served; and the broader burial context within which it operated. Considering Rugg's (1998a:51-52) classification of pre-1850s cemeteries, whereas Bath Abbey Cemetery is something of an anomaly, Southampton Cemetery is a clear example of a site established out of a mixture of civic pride and public health concerns, which combined to create a desire within local government to make decent burial affordable.

Like Bath Abbey Cemetery, Southampton Cemetery was established as a direct response to a shortage of burial space, although in this case it was the town council that addressed the problem rather than a member of the clergy. The problem of over-full burial grounds had been recognised by the town council in 1837, when a committee to address the issue was created and the establishment of a civic cemetery was first suggested. These suggestions did not mature into a concrete plan because the price of land was considered to be too high and there were hopes that national legislation would be passed which would obviate the need for special parliamentary permission for the cemetery. This legislation did not materialise, so in 1841 the city council convened a new Cemetery Committee, because although national legislation was once again on the horizon, the condition of the town's burial facilities was becoming untenable (SCCCM 11/04/1843). In February of 1843 the Committee heard testimony regarding the "frequent exposure and Disturbance of corpses recently interred" at St Mary's Church, the largest church in Southampton, which aside from "some slight accommodation for the Burial of Dissenters", received "the great majority of the Dead, as it has done for many generations" (SCCCM 11/03/1843).

The cemetery was conceived as a facility for the entire town, regardless of parish boundaries, denomination, or wealth; the Committee recognised that the poor, perhaps more than the wealthy, were in need, as "the Rich resort to other places: but the great bulk of the inhabitants cannot do so, owing to the heavy expense of distant funerals" (SCCCM 11/03/1843). By April 1843 the Committee had acquired the requisite parliamentary permission and were surveying land for suitable sites (SCCCM 05/04/1843). In 1846 the cemetery was opened, providing space for the town's Anglicans, Nonconformists and the small local Jewish community, which had asked for a small portion of the proposed site for their own use as soon as the parliamentary approval was received in 1843.

As at Bath Abbey the advice of Loudon was sought, and then not entirely followed. Unfortunately, no illustration of Loudon's original plans remains, so the precise difference is unclear. What is plain is that a significant factor in their rejection was the Bishop of Winchester's objections to the arrangement of the Anglican and Nonconformist Chapels (SCCCM 24/04/1844). Loudon's design had suggested a pair of twinned chapels, back to back over a central path, somewhat like the arrangement of the chapels at St James' Cemetery in Bath, but the Bishop of Winchester did not feel that it was appropriate to have the chapels this close to the boundaries of their designated areas, and he effectively threatened to refuse to consecrate the space if changes were not made. The layout of the site was further adjusted by the Cemetery Committee, and was eventually combined with designs requested from another landscape designer, W. H. Rogers (1818-1898).

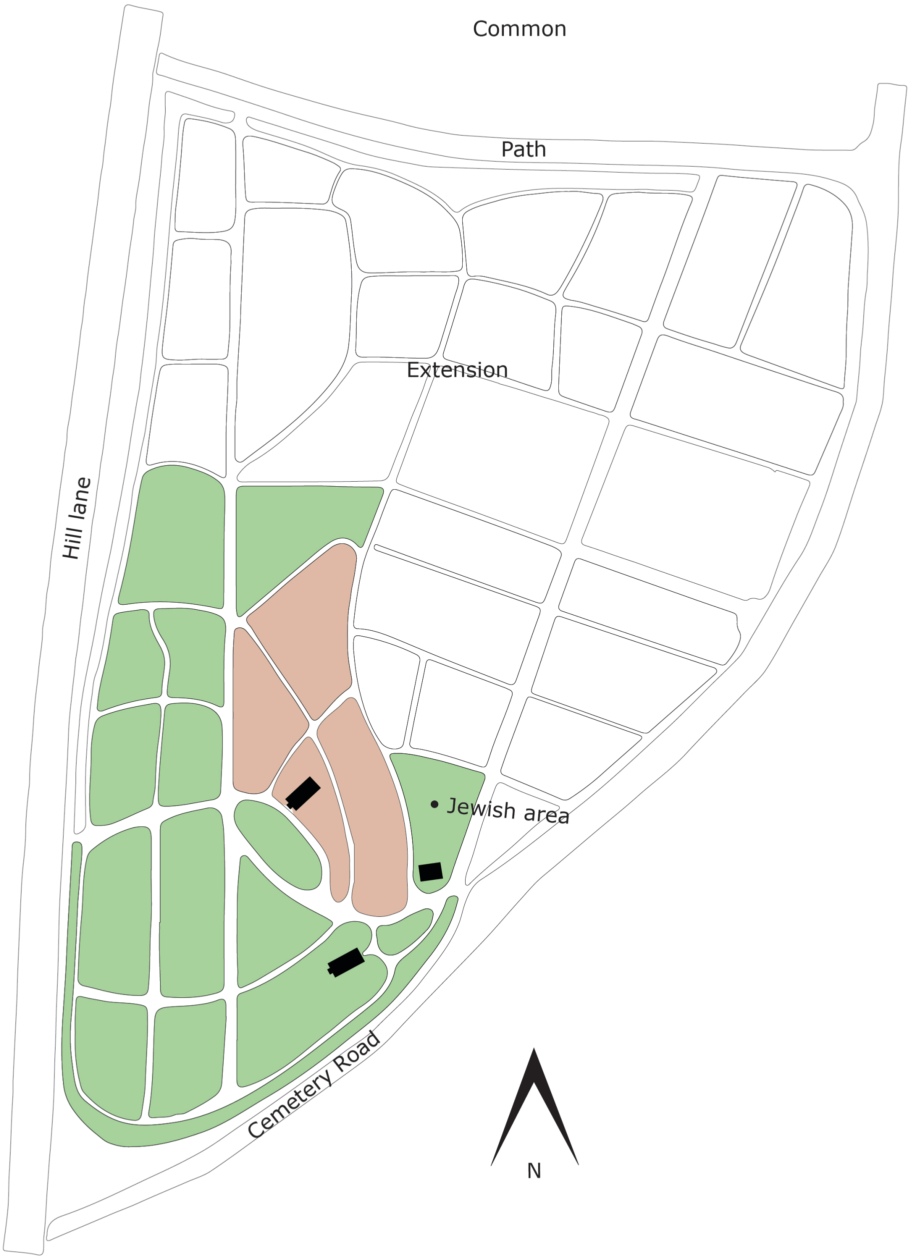


Figure 5.5 Southampton Cemetery showing the original consecrated section in green and the unconsecrated section in pink. The 1880s extension is shown in white (not to scale). The two most northerly green sections were added in 1863. (Illustration: author's, based on a map produced by the Friends of Southampton Old Cemetery.)

The final design was, like Bath Abbey Cemetery, a combination of rectilinear and curvilinear pathways, but unlike the other site, neither chapel dominated the site. The rearrangement of the chapels away from the central path meant that the boundary between the two sections became unclear. It had always been the intention of the Cemetery Committee to use the cemetery paths to divide the consecrated from the unconsecrated ground, and if the chapels had been located on either side of the main axial path as was initially intended, splitting the cemetery into two halves with the central path between them, this division of space would have been quite clear to visitors. However, as Figure 5.5 shows, the boundary between the two areas now runs along only part of the central path, skirting just south of the Nonconformist (more northerly) chapel, and swinging round towards the entrance. There is no indication on the ground as to which paths comprise the boundary, or which section is consecrated, making it a denominationally ambiguous landscape for any visitor not in possession of a map or an informed guide. Although the rearrangement of the chapels was the consequence of Anglican demands, the resulting landscape is remarkable in that it elides religious distinction and confers no advantage to the dominant group. This is in sharp contrast to Bath Abbey Cemetery where, through the exclusion of Nonconformists at a time when pressure on burial space was high and few Nonconformist alternatives were available, the privilege enjoyed by members of the established Church was effectively perpetuated.

This surprising even-handedness extends to the architectural framing of the Southampton Cemetery. The two chapels are different in style, but very similar in size and elaboration. The Cemetery Committee advertised for design submissions in Gothic, Norman, or Elizabethan styles for the two chapels and a lodge to be situated next to the gate (SCCCM 28/02/1844). The London architect Frederick John Francis (1818-1898) won the competition, with a pointed 'Early English' Gothic design for the Nonconformist chapel (Figure 5.8), a round-arched Norman Revival design for the Anglican one (Figure 5.6), and a mock Tudor plan for the lodge. The work was tendered to a local builder for just under £2000 and the three buildings were completed in 1845. A smaller building in the Jewish section was added shortly after the cemetery opened although it is not clear exactly when.

Figure 5.6 Anglican Chapel in Southampton Cemetery, viewed from the southwest, in the round-arched style. (Photograph: author, 2012.)

The site was initially laid out as ten acres, despite the Committee having the option to use 15. Loudon advised that the entire 15 acres be enclosed because even if the extra space was not immediately necessary, it would become so, and because there would be savings in undertaking the necessary work only once (SCCCM 31/08/143). The Committee rejected this proposal, claiming that the ten acres would probably last the town between 50 and 70 years. A mere 20 years later, however, in 1863, it was necessary to add the five acres to the site as Loudon had predicted. These five acres were added to the north of the site, and in the 1880s were joined by a further twelve acres to the north and east (Figure 5.5).

The entire site had once been part of the large Southampton Common, which was bought by the borough and turned into a public park at the same time as the cemetery. Originally a site at the north end of the common had been considered, but was thought to be too far from the centre of town for poorer individuals wishing to visit the site on foot. One consequence of the situation of the site on what had been common land was that it contained a variety of well-established trees and shrubs, especially in the southwest section, and many of these were retained in the laying out of the site, as advised by Loudon (SCCCM 1843-1870). This meant that even when the site was first opened, it presented a fully formed environment that was distinctly less barren than some cemeteries in their early years (such as Kensal Green). Additional trees were planted, but the existing flora meant that even at its opening in 1846 a visitor could comment that the paths and plants were "so disposed as to form vistas" (Anon 1846). This mixture of older and younger plants can be seen on an 1846 Ordinance Survey map of the site (Figure 5.7).

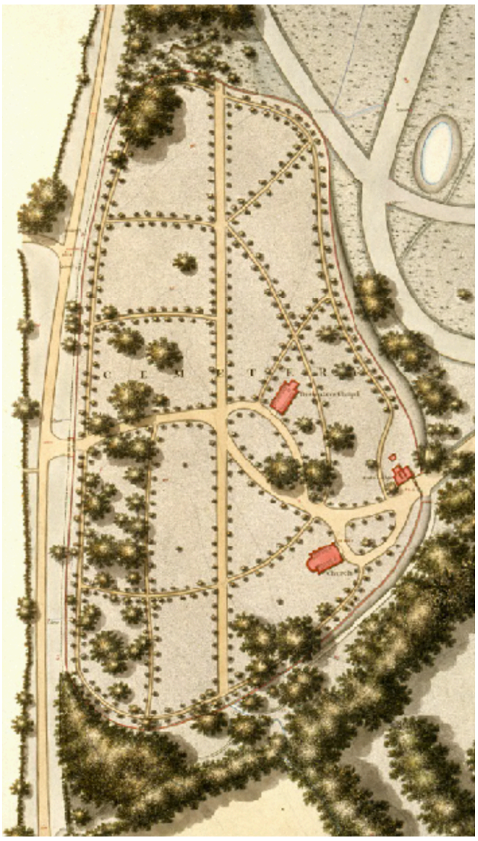


Figure 5.7 1846 Ordinance Survey map of Southampton Cemetery, courtesy of Southampton City Council (www.southampton.gov.uk).

The consequence of this planting, in combination with the slightly undulating ground (the area around the chapels is a little higher than the west side of the cemetery), was that from early on, the cemetery comprised a more internally divided space than Bath Abbey. From certain points within the cemetery it is possible to catch 'vistas' down paths or across sections of monuments (Figure 5.7), but unlike at the Bath site, there is no high point from which to see across the site and, without a map, the overall layout of the site is as unclear as its denominational boundaries.

Figure 5.8 View north up the central avenue of Southampton Cemetery and of the southwest (main) entrance of the Nonconformist chapel. (Photograph: author, 2012.)

A secondary consequence of the prior identity of the site as part of Southampton Common and the simultaneous laying out of the rest of the common as a park was that the cemetery was stitched into the leisure-activity landscape of the city. The Cemetery Committee was explicit in its desire that the cemetery should not just relieve the crisis in burial provision, but also be "ornamental to the Town as well as attractive to visitors" (SCCCM 05/04/1843). They seem to have been successful in this aim, at least initially; the cemetery's consecration ceremony attracted more than 3000 people, according to newspaper accounts (Anonymous, 1846). Around the same time that the cemetery and park were laid out, the town council began developing a series of open spaces within the town centre, which became the five interlinked 'central parks' that still exist today. As Rugg pointed out, the creation of a cemetery was in some settings just part of a broader campaign of civic improvements.

Unlike Bath, Southampton did not rapidly gain new burial sites in the 1850s and 1860s. It was not until the opening of St Mary's Extra Burial Ground, a cemetery established by St Mary's Burial Board, in 1879, that the town gained another cemetery. This meant that Southampton Cemetery remained the primary commemorative setting for the entire community for over 30 years, during which period the community it served changed significantly. Southampton had been a declining spa town at the beginning of the century, but in 1835 the Southampton Docks Company was founded and in 1838 construction began on the docks. Maritime trade, which had been increasing in the town since the end of the Napoleonic Wars, began expanding rapidly, with the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company designating Southampton an official packet station in 1843. The town was linked to London by rail in 1840 and, by the end of the decade, the port had become known as a primary embarkation point for travel to the colonies. The increasingly maritime character of the town is clear in the commemorative practices that developed in its cemetery.

The Samples

The sample sizes at both sites are very small: 34 dated monuments at Southampton, plus two that can only be dated to within a ten-year period, and eight illegible monuments; 40 dated monuments at Bath Abbey, one that can be dated to within a ten-year period, and five illegible monuments. The number of plots in use within the sites during the surveyed period is not known, due to the allocation of plot numbers at Southampton according to geographical location, and the fact that the Bath Burial Index does not record plot numbers. It is therefore not possible to estimate the proportion of the monumental body that these monuments represent. It is worth noting, however, that each volume of the burial registers for Southampton holds approximately 3200 records, and that between the consecrated and unconsecrated sections, more than seven volumes were filled by the end of 1869. This indicates that upwards of 22,000 burials took place in Southampton Cemetery over the surveyed period, dwarfing the 36 monuments in the sample. It is likely that a proportion of these burials took place in common (shared) graves, although the number of these types of burials may in practice have been lower than the Cemetery Committee anticipated. In 1843 the Committee estimated that the cemetery's initial ten acres would hold 48,636 bodies (SCCCM 31/08/1843), a figure considerably higher than 22,000 and which would only have been practicable with extensive plot sharing. Regardless of this, the figure goes some way to indicate the rarity of the surveyed monument types as a form of commemoration within this setting. If between 22,000 and 23,000 individuals were buried in Southampton Cemetery during the surveyed period, and an average of 2.1 people were commemorated on each of the 36 surveyed stones, then less than a third of 1% of people were buried in plots marked by these monuments.

The overall number of burials at Bath Abbey during the surveyed period is not known, but there were, overall, only between 6000-7000 burials during the cemetery's entire period of operation, as the site is small and not densely filled. Considering that 41 monuments were surveyed, with an average of 2.4 commemorative subjects, *at least* 1% of burials were commemorated with the monument types surveyed in this project. Looking back at the comparison of burial numbers and surveyed plot numbers at Kensal Green, 455 monuments were surveyed, with an average of 3.4 commemorative subjects each, meaning that approximately 3% of the 51,000 burials that took place during the surveyed period were commemorated with the monument types included in this project. These comparative figures are far from exact, but they are indicative of the widely differing rates at which these types of monuments were used at different sites, which is in turn indicative of the different levels of elaboration common in different commemorative landscapes. It is also worth noting that an area in the north-west corner of Southampton Cemetery was allocated to Roman Catholic usage in the 1850s, but none of the monuments erected there fell into the survey categories. Nor were any urns, obelisks or Gothic crosses identified in the small Jewish section.

When monuments included in this survey *were* used at Bath Abbey and Southampton Old Cemeteries, their comparative rates of use were markedly different, as Figure 5.9 shows.

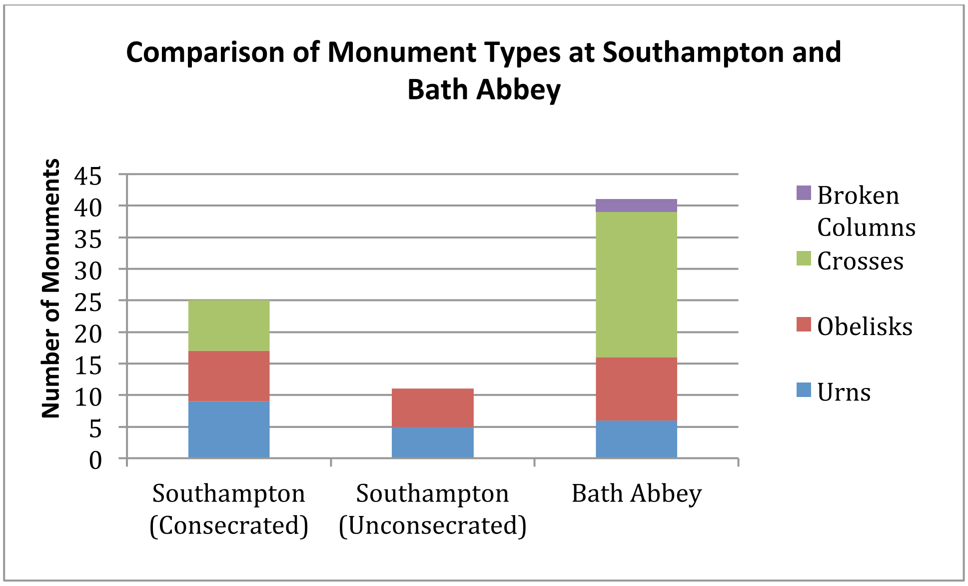


Figure 5.9 Comparison of monument types at Southampton and Bath Abbey.

Monument Types

Bath Abbey Cemetery contained a much higher proportion of Gothic cross form monuments than either section of Southampton Cemetery, and the use of these forms began earlier in Bath than Southampton. Over the first decade of the Bath Abbey Cemetery's use more urns were erected than the other monument types, but after 1855 urn erection ceased, and by 1860 there were more Gothic crosses than urns (Figure 5.10). This contrasts with the consecrated section of Southampton where, although Gothic cross-use increased and urn-use decreased after 1855, the overall number of Gothic crosses never exceeded that of urns during the surveyed period (Figure 5.12 and Figure 5.13). Both of these samples contrast in turn with the unconsecrated section of Southampton Cemetery where no Gothic crosses could be dated to within the surveyed period (Figure 5.14). The significance of this difference between the sections and sites will be discussed in regard to religious differentiation in the following chapter. In all three areas, however, obelisk use was higher during the last 15 years of the surveyed period, from 1855 onwards, than previously. At Bath Abbey this coincided with the cessation of urn erection while, in Southampton, urns continued to be used, albeit at a reduced rate.

The most iconic way to display this kind of data would be in graphs that yield the 'battleship' type curves used by Dethlefsen and Deetz (1966) to argue for sequential fashions in commemorative architecture. This method of displaying the data is not used here for two reasons. Firstly because those types of graphs require that each monument type is presented as a percentage of the total sample of monuments erected per year. The sampling technique used here intentionally *excludes* many monument forms, meaning that to present the sampled data in this way would conceal this fact. Furthermore, the sample sizes are very small, and to present the samples as percentages without reference to the absolute numbers would be misleading. Instead, the monuments erected during each increment are displayed as in Figure 5.11, so that the numbers of each type can be compared without presenting them as the total number of monuments erected during the period. Secondly, the graphs used by Dethlefsen and Deetz (ibid) obscure the cumulative nature of monument erection; they encourage the monumental body to be read as sequential sets of practices, as if the commemorative landscape as a whole, containing monuments from all previous periods of activity, did not exist. This is not surprising, given that the relationship between commemoration and the monumental landscape was not Dethlefsen and Deetz's concern; they were explicitly concerned with the broader changes going on beyond the burial ground. This is not, however, the approach taken here, and so instead, as well as graphs like that in Figure 5.10, which show monument erection as sequential (like Dethlefsen and Deetz's [ibid]), the data is displayed cumulatively, as in Figure 5.11, so that the overall presence of different monument types within the commemorative landscape can be assessed.

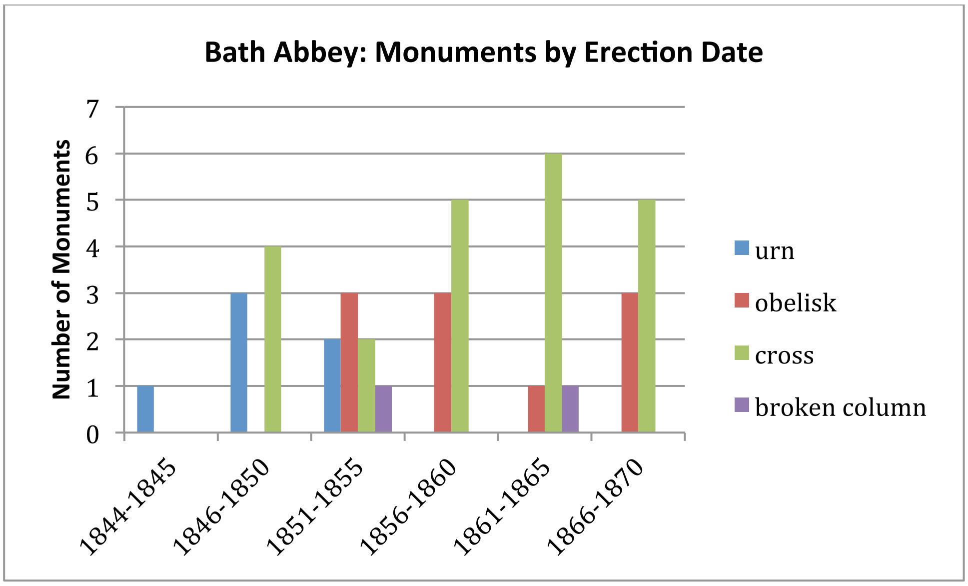
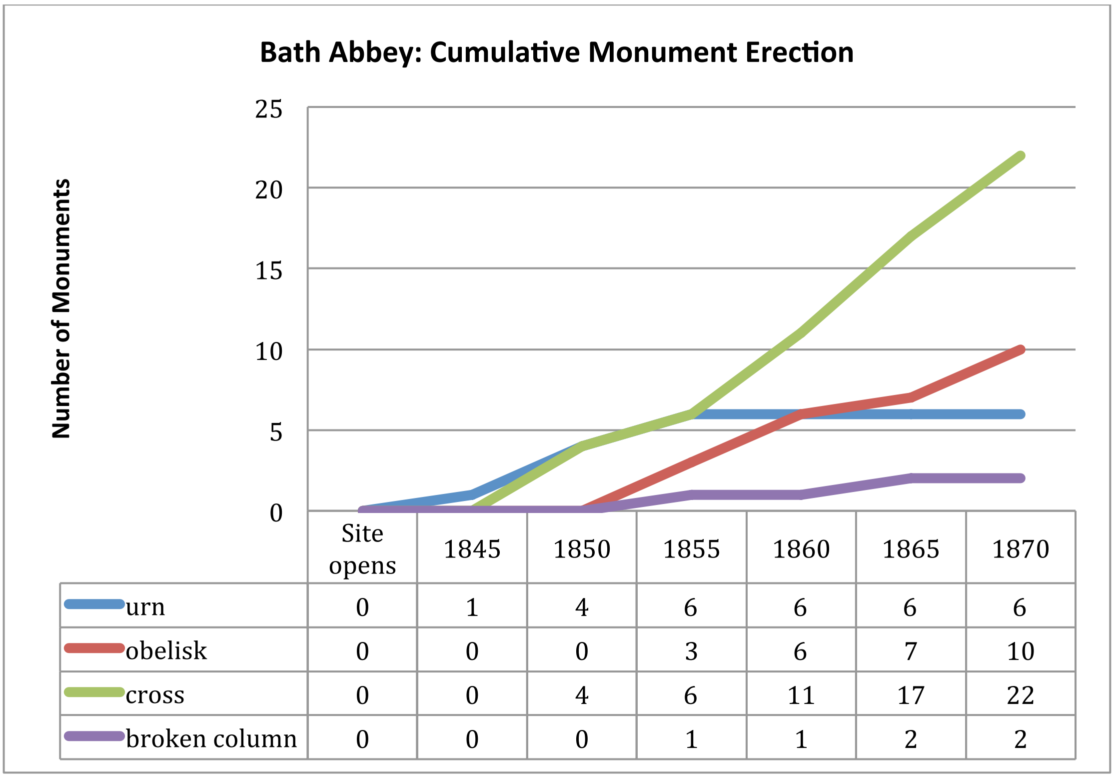


Figure 5.10 Surveyed monument erection at Bath Abbey in five-year increments, excluding the monument that could be dated only to within a ten-year period.



	Site opens	1845	1850	1855	1860	1865	1870
urn	0	1	4	6	6	6	6
obelisk	0	0	0	3	6	7	10
cross	0	0	4	6	11	17	22
broken column	0	0	0	1	1	2	2

Figure 5.11 Erection of sampled monuments over time at Bath Abbey Cemetery, displayed cumulatively.

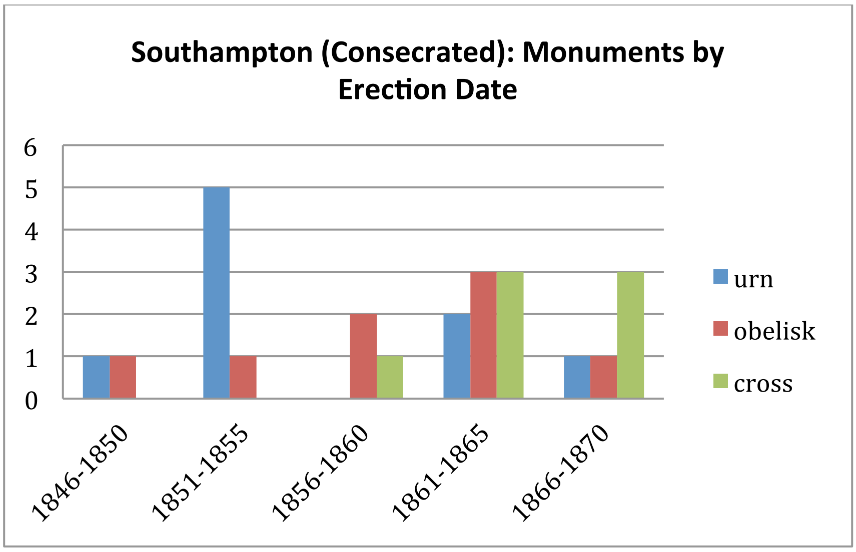


Figure 5.12 Surveyed monument erection in the consecrated section of Southampton Cemetery in five-year increments, excluding the monument that could only be dated to within a ten-year period.

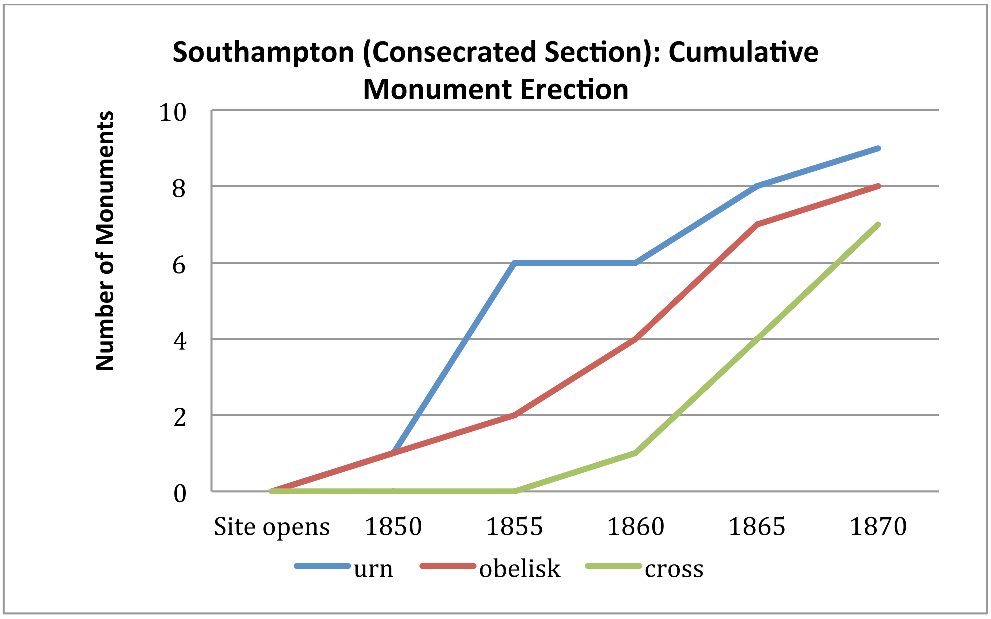


Figure 5.13 Cumulative monument erection in the consecrated section of Southampton Cemetery, excluding the monument that could only be dated to within a ten-year period.

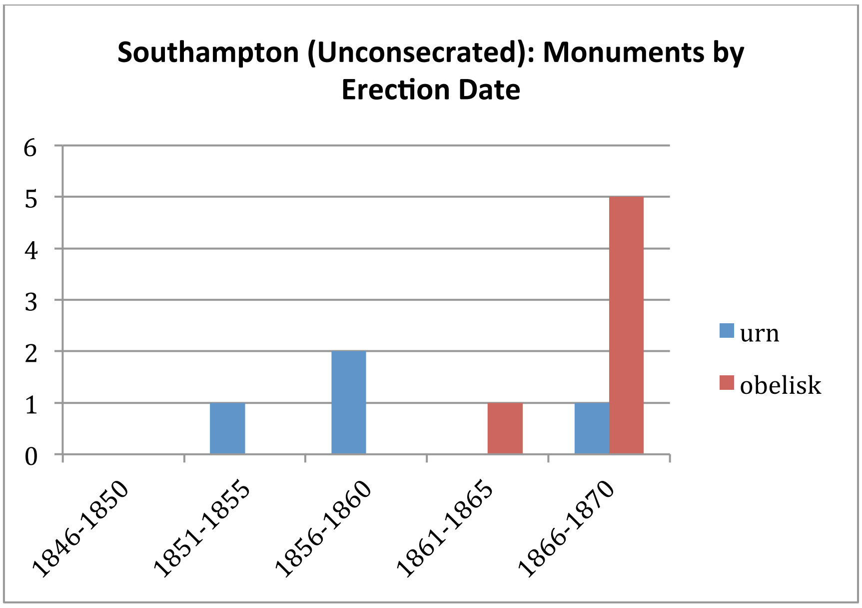


Figure 5.14 Surveyed monument erection in the unconsecrated section of Southampton Cemetery in five-year increments, excluding the monument that could only be dated to within a ten-year period.

Occupational Data

The occupational make-up of the samples from Bath Abbey and Southampton cemeteries are also quite different. At Southampton the occupations associated with 30 monuments were identified, and at Bath Abbey this figure was 37. The classification of occupations under Scheme 1 indicates that the main point of divergence between the samples is in the high number of individuals involved in maritime occupations at Southampton, and the high number of families supported by private incomes of one kind or another (annuities, properties, funds) at Bath Abbey Cemetery (Figure 5.15). Most of those employed in shipping in the Southampton sample were engineers working for shipping companies, such as the Peninsular and Orient Company, the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company, or the Union Steam Ship Company. Engineers were important and well-paid crew members; a Chief Engineer's pay could exceed that of a ship's chaplain. According to the 1866 Navy List, a Chief Engineer would receive between £191/12/6. and £365 p/a (1866:274), whereas a chaplain would earn between £182/10/- and £292 p/a (ibid:271). Although these rates would clearly differ from equivalent pay on Merchant Navy ships, they give an indication of the general economic status of engineers. This group is largely obscured in Scheme 2, which groups them as 'commercial employees' along with clerks and bank employees (Figure 5.16).

Also somewhat obscured in Scheme 2 is the presence in the Bath sample of a significant minority of military households, which are grouped in the second scheme as 'public service' along with naval and civil service occupations. Clear in both classificatory schemes is the large number of households in the Bath sample supported by independent means (listed as either 'private means' or 'gentleman'). Only one household in the Southampton sample was funded in this way, whereas there were twelve in Bath. Scheme 2 also indicates, by combining several occupations requiring extended education or training (barristers, solicitors, clergy) under the grouping of 'professional', the higher proportion of households in the Bath sample supported by jobs predicated on a potentially expensive education and an extended training period requiring familial support. Looking at both schemes, the overall impression is that the households represented in the sample from Bath Abbey were more likely to be headed by highly educated individuals or to benefit from private sources of income than the families from the Southampton sample.

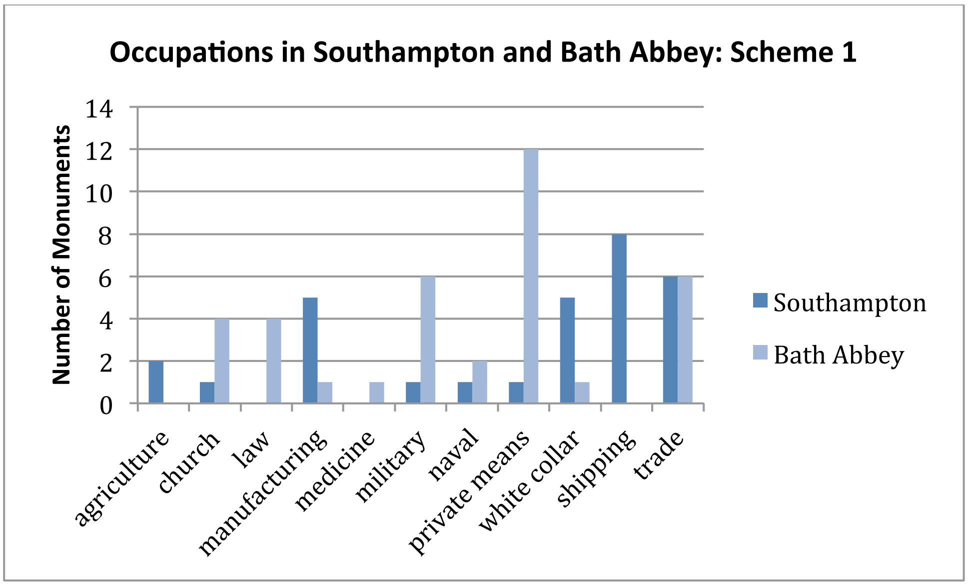


Figure 5.15 Occupations in the Southampton and Bath Abbey samples classified under Scheme 1.

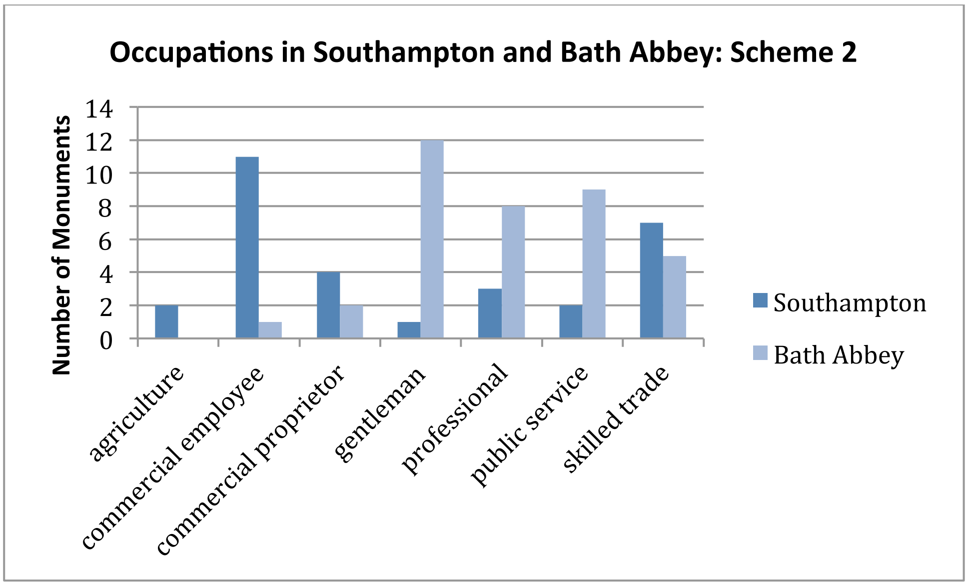


Figure 5.16 Occupations in the Southampton and Bath Abbey samples classified under Scheme 2.

As was noted earlier, occupational data is far from a definitive indicator of social or economic status, but the class difference implied by the occupational make-up of these samples is borne out in the servant-employment data. In the Southampton sample 25 households employed a total of 22 servants, meaning that the average number of residential servants per household was less than one. In the Bath Abbey sample 76 residential servants were recorded as living in the 31 sampled households for which data was available, meaning that on average each household employed between two and three residential servants. As can be seen from Figure 5.17, a broader spread of servant employment was found in Bath Abbey than Southampton, where more than half the sample employed at least three servants, whereas in Southampton only one household employed three servants. The households in the Southampton sample were evidently spending less income on employing residential servants. As was suggested in chapter 4, this is not necessarily an indication of overall income, as cultures of servant employment were variable. However, when combined with the occupational data, the servant employment data from these sites reinforces the impression of economically and socially distinct samples.

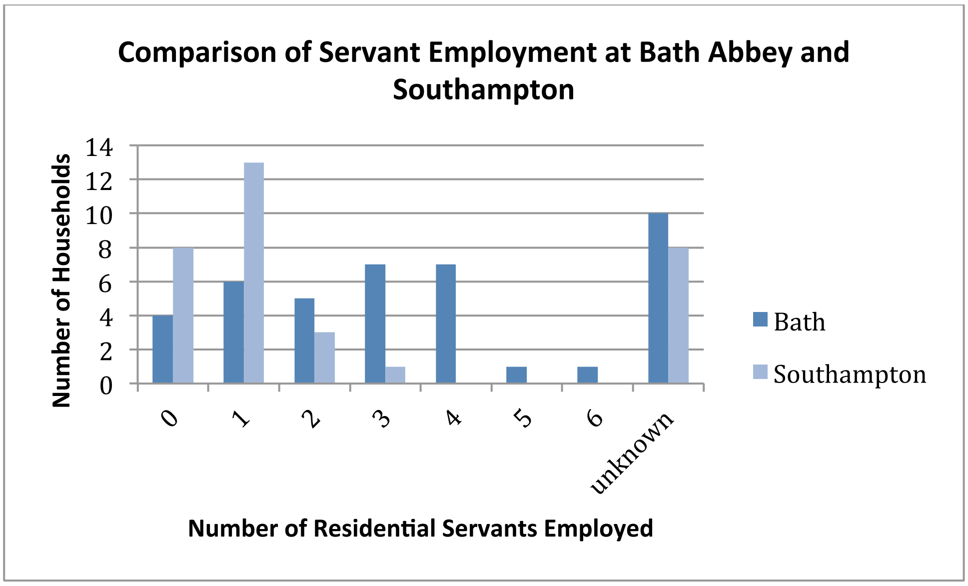


Figure 5.17 Comparison of servant employment at Bath Abbey and Southampton.

Monument Sizes

The obvious question stemming from this conclusion is whether this difference can be associated with any variation in the expense or elaboration of the monuments within the sample. The height and volume of a monument is not a straightforward indicator of its price; the materials used and the complexity of the work involved are also important factors. Coding for complexity is, however, difficult; Buckham's (2005 [volume 2]:285, 321) system for classifying elaboration into five levels works at the lower three levels by categorising the different kind of carving and moulding work on headstones. For instance, an incised vine border would be considered complexity level two, and therefore investment level two, while a carved foliate style would be complexity level four, and therefore investment level three. At the upper end of the investment spectrum, however, where the differences between monuments are more complex and less easily classed into coded variables, the system becomes more opaque. For example, the difference between obelisks considered as levels three, four, and five investments, is based on the "complexity of surface embellishment, material [and] size" (ibid:235). How these factors were assessed and relatively weighted is not clear. Furthermore, the exact position of the boundaries between the upper levels of investment is inevitably sample-specific; the most expensive monuments in York Cemetery are unlikely to even approach the upper level of investment seen in Kensal Green or the Glasgow Necropolis where enormous mausolea and ten-metre granite obelisks can be found. Developing a system that could be applied across the five sites in this study would have offered little analytical insight and, in giving coded values to subjective distinctions, would have conferred upon them an air of perhaps illusory legitimacy. The materials used at the two sites are also not useful in distinguishing between the relative cost of the monuments as the composition is almost identical: mostly limestone or sandstone, with a handful of granite and marble examples (see Figure 5.18).

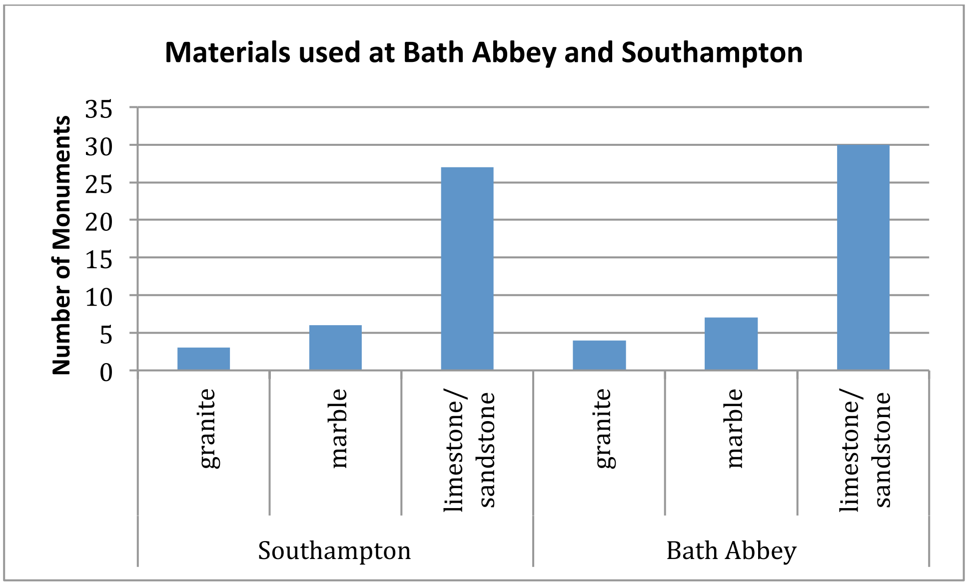


Figure 5.18 Comparison of materials used in monument construction in the Bath Abbey and Southampton Cemetery samples, based on the primary material used.

The height and volume of monuments are therefore used here as a rough proxy for their expense, although it is fully acknowledged that this is, at best, a general indicator. Furthermore, the volume of monuments is calculated by multiplying height by width and thickness and is not, therefore, an indication of the volume of *stone* used in construction as it does not take into account instances in which the width of thickness of a monument is variable at different heights, or in which the monument encloses empty space, as in the case of canopy monuments. It does, however, offer an indication of the overall scale of the memorial.

Comparing the maximum, minimum and average heights of the different monument types at the two sites, it appears that the monuments of each type erected in Bath were slightly larger than in either section of Southampton. However, the most common monument type in the Bath Abbey sample (the Gothic cross) is also the smallest of the three types shared between the sites (Figure 5.19). Cross monuments are on average smaller than the other surveyed monument groups because they are the only type in the survey regularly produced as upright headstone tablets rather than as pedestal monuments. This means that, when the two samples are taken as wholes and not divided by type, the average monument is only very slightly taller at Bath Abbey than at Southampton (224cm rather than 216cm).

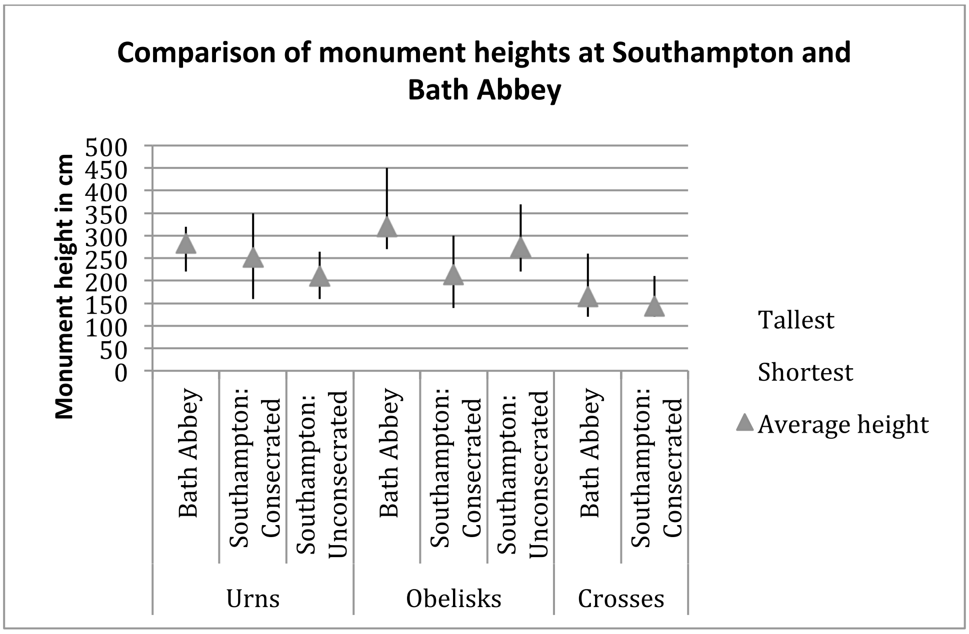


Figure 5.19 Comparison of monument heights at Bath Abbey and Southampton Cemeteries.

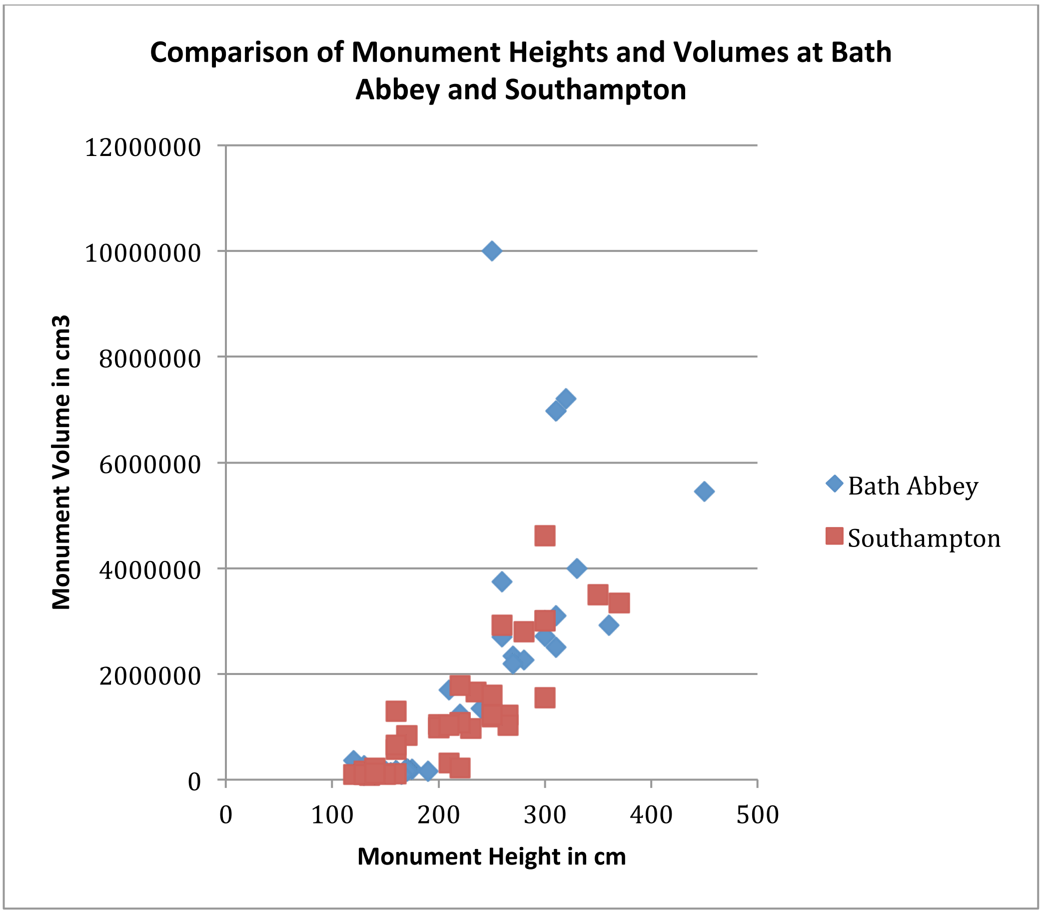


Figure 5.20 Volumes and heights of monuments at Bath Abbey and Southampton, in cm and cm³.

When the spread of monument heights and volumes at the two sites are compared, it is clear that the vast majority of monuments at Bath Abbey fall within the same range of sizes as those at Southampton (Figure 5.20). Just a handful of exceptional monuments in the Bath Abbey sample push up the averages and ranges of monument sizes there. These five monuments, with volumes higher than 5m³, are unusually large and elaborate; two are canopied pedestal monuments (Figure 5.21 and Figure 5.22), and the other three are one each of a draped urn, an obelisk and a broken column. They are not representative, however, of the majority of the sample, which is comprised of small Gothic cross pedestal monuments and headstones. If these five are excluded, the average height drops to 210cm and the average volume falls to 1.2m³ in comparison to 1.3m³ in Southampton. This suggests that, if the occupational and servant employment data is indicative of a difference between the two samples in terms of social class or economic resources, this difference is not articulated in terms of the scale of monuments used in commemoration. This point is reinforced when the numbers of servants employed by the families who erected the five exceptional monuments at Bath Abbey are considered. Servant employment data is available for four of the five families. Two employed two servants, and two employed three, meaning that they are average for the Bath sample. There is no indication that monument elaboration is correlated with wealth within the Bath sample, or between samples.

Figure 5.21 Monument 2019 (Bath Abbey) Jane Weeks Williams, died 1848. (Photograph: author, 2013.)

Figure 5.22 Monument 2020 (Bath Abbey) Samuel Maxwell Hinds, died 1847. (Photograph: author, 2013.)

Carved Urn Monuments in Southampton Cemetery

One other observation should be made regarding the monument forms found in these samples. Although Gothic crosses are the only monument type regularly executed as headstones, in the Southampton sample, there were two monuments classed as urns that were not sculpted pedestal monuments, but the older form of urn design, in which the urn is carved onto the face of a headstone. The carving onto headstones of composite designs involving urns, willows, and mourning women was common in the later 18th century and into the early 19th, not only in England and Scotland but also in America (Dethlefsen and Deetz 1966, McGuire 1988:444, Llewellyn 1991:99, Rugg 1999:207). This monument form was mostly out of use by the 1840s, however, and is found in only one of the other samples, as a commemorative plaque for interments that had taken place in the catacombs of Key Hill (monument 6029, Figure 5.23). Why this monument form persisted, or rather resurged (given that these monuments all date to the 1850s) is unclear. It seems unlikely that the two Southampton monuments were relics of an earlier mason's work, put aside and simply not used for some years; it was not usual for masons to keep a stock of carved stones in the early part of the century, and Garrett and Haysom's records indicate that they undertook work when it was ordered rather than keeping a stash of pre-carved stones (GHDB 1837-1838). Furthermore, the two monuments are quite different, the urn on one comprising almost the entire face of the memorial (monument 1005, Figure 5.24), and on the other forming the central decoration at the top of the tablet (monument 1036, Figure 5.25). This makes it seem more likely that they were commissioned, and thus represent an active resurrection of the older tradition. At the risk of casting monument use as determined by economic constraints, these monuments might also be seen as a less expensive way of engaging with the ongoing commemorative use of urn monuments. Given the different price implications, the differing overall form, and the different visibility within the site that these monuments achieved, these monuments are, to some extent, a different type of monument to most of the urn memorials encountered in these samples. However, they are included because the selection by their erectors of the urn as the primary defining motif is contextualised by the other urn monuments in the cemetery.

Figure 5.23 Monument 6019 (Birmingham Key Hill) the Kemp family 1856. (Photograph: author, 2013.)

Figure 5.24 Monument 1005 (Southampton) dedicated to Peter McGary, who died in 1852. (Photograph: author, 2012.)

Figure 5.25 Monument 1036 (Southampton) dedicated to Mary Cicely Bowman, who died 1851. (Photograph: author, 2012.)

Female Commemorative Subjects in Bath

Moving on to the subjects of commemoration, the gender balance of these two samples lies at either end of the spectrum in terms of the genders of the primary subjects of commemoration. The Bath Abbey sample has an unusually high proportion of female primary commemorative subjects and, at Southampton the opposite is the case. The primary commemorative subject is considered to be the first death inscribed on the stone, the death that initiated the erection of the memorial. When multiple deaths appear to have been commemorated simultaneously, even if some of the subjects are buried elsewhere or died some time previously, the monument is considered to have multiple commemorative subjects and these are not included here.

All of the other samples fall closer to a 50/50 gender balance in primary commemorative subjects than Bath and Southampton. The preponderance of male primary commemorative subjects in the Southampton sample might be attributable to the practice of extra-familial commemoration there, as we shall see shortly, but the high number of female primary commemorative subjects in Bath is less readily explicable. It is also contrary to the patterns of commemoration described elsewhere; Tarlow (1999a:62) notes that in her Orkney sample the number of monuments primarily dedicated to men is consistently higher than those dedicated to women.

The unusual skew in the Bath sample could be the consequence of more general imbalance in the 19th-century population of Bath as a whole. The 1861 census indicates that for every 1,000 men living in Bath, there were 1,533 women (Armstrong 1972:250). However, most of these 'extra' women belonged to the large mobile population of domestic servants in the city. Just over 26% of the female population of Bath worked in domestic service in 1861, which is unusually high; for example, in Sheffield this figure was only just over 8% (ibid:251). None of the women in the Bath Abbey sample belonged to this group, however, suggesting that this was not the cause of the imbalance.

	Male	Female	Percentage male:female
Bath Abbey	15	26	37:63
Key Hill	27	28	49:51
Kensal Green	166	119	58:42
Southampton	19	11	63:37
Glasgow Necropolis	173	121	59:41

Figure 5.26 Frequency of male and female primary commemorative subjects at the five sampled sites, excluding those monuments for which the identity of the primary commemorative subject is unknown; multiple individuals were commemorated simultaneously; or the monument was pre-erected.

An alternative explanation, which seems more likely, is not that there is a broader gender imbalance that the sampled monuments are directly reflecting, but that, in this setting, the surveyed monument types are disproportionately used in commemorating women. This could be attributed to chance, or could indicate a local pattern of gendered monument usage. If this were the case, it could relate to the association of particular monument forms with the commemoration of specific kinds of individuals or relationships. Before considering this possibility, it is therefore necessary to consider the relationships commemorated at Bath Abbey and Southampton.

Relationships

In the Bath Abbey sample, the majority of primary commemorative subjects are immediate family members; there are only two monuments dedicated to non-family members. The two most commonly commemorated relations are spouses although, unlike the other four samples, in which husbands are more often the primary commemorative subject than wives, female spouses outnumber their male counterparts here (Figure 5.27). This pattern is repeated in the relative frequencies with which other gendered relationships are primary commemorative subjects: daughters more frequently than sons, mothers more often than fathers (Figure 5.28). This indicates that the predominance of female primary commemorative subjects cannot be attributed to the preferential commemoration of a particular subset of female relations with one or more of the surveyed monument forms. Of those monuments for which the primary commemorative relationship is not known, five were dedicated to women, and one to a man.

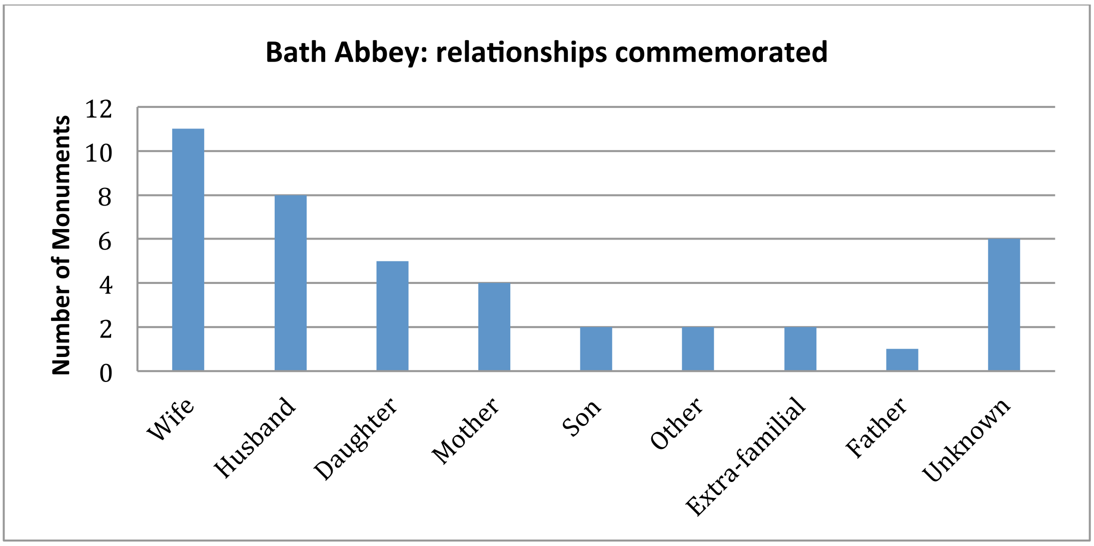


Figure 5.27 Graph showing the number of monuments initially dedicated to different relationships in the Bath Abbey sample.

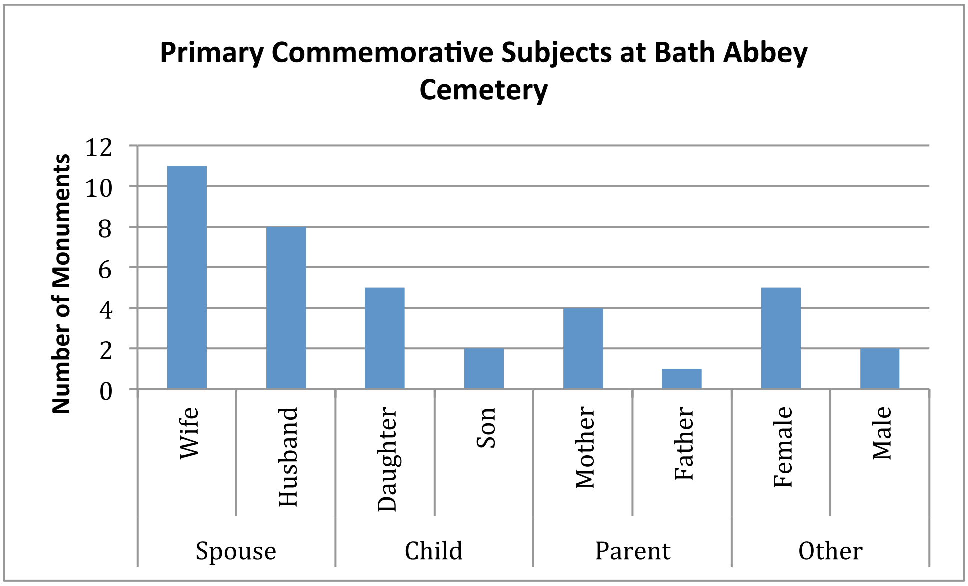


Figure 5.28 Graph showing the number of monuments primarily commemorating different gendered relationships in the Bath Abbey sample.

The most significant exception to the familial and private undertaking of commemoration in Bath Abbey Cemetery is the Crimean War Memorial obelisk that was erected in 1856 (Figure 5.29). The memorial was recorded along with the other monuments but data relating to it is not included in the foregoing discussions of monument types and sizes, because its public character places it within a different set of commemorative frameworks to the other monuments. It should not be overlooked, however, as an important piece of the cemetery landscape, part of the context within which the other commemorative acts were undertaken and understood.

Figure 5.29 Crimean War Memorial at Bath Abbey Cemetery. (Photograph author's own, taken 2013.)

The memorial was erected by public subscription in early 1856, and occupies a prominent position at the top of the carriageway, just to the right of where the track leaves the east side of the site and swings round in the large oval turning circle. The memorial is unusual both because of the rapidity of its erection and because of the fact that it commemorates not only the battles of the war, or the more distinguished fallen, but all the soldiers of Bath who died in the conflict, each listed by name, rank, and location of death. Fourteen men are listed on the monument, and the inscription reads, in part:

ERECTED BY CITIZENS OF BATH,
IN HONOUR, UNDER GOD,
OF THOSE HEROIC MEN, ESPECIALLY
THEIR FELLOW CITIZENS AND FRIENDS HERE RECORDED,
WHO LAID DOWN THEIR LIVES
IN THE CAMPAIGNS OF 1854-5.

The memorial was erected less than six months after the end of the war and was unveiled on the Day of National Celebrations of Peace in 1856, in front of a 15,000 strong crowd. This rapidity was due to the fact that preparations had begun a year before when a group of injured soldiers travelling from a hospital ship to the military hospital at Chatham, Kent had stayed briefly in Bath and a public subscription had been raised to give each soldier a small sum of money. The remains of this money formed the basis of a fund which paid for the obelisk. The Crimean obelisk cannot, in light of this, be considered in the same frame as the privately erected monuments that make up the rest of the sample, even those erected through the collaboration of groups of friends or colleagues. It does, however, have a potentially important bearing on these other monuments, having had a central role in a very public act of commemoration, an act shared by all those who subscribed to the fund or attended the ceremony.

Unlike at Bath Abbey Cemetery, the commemoration of extra-familial relationships in Southampton Cemetery was not primarily articulated through large public monuments, but smaller private ones. In contrast to the Bath site, of the two most frequently commemorated relationships in the Southampton sample, only one is spousal; the most common commemorative subjects are husbands, but the second most frequent are friends and colleagues (Figure 5.30). This pattern of extra-familial commemoration is closely linked with the maritime community, as will be explored below, and can be seen as a site-specific articulation of a wider set of specifically maritime commemorative habits that can be traced in burial grounds and cemeteries in port settlements on both sides of the Atlantic (Stewart 2011). Aside from these maritime burials, and a monument dedicated to an aunt (included in the 'other' category along with one monument commemorating a brother), the primary commemorative subjects in the Southampton sample are all immediate family members, as in the other four samples. The predominance of nuclear family members as primary commemorative subjects speaks to Stone's (1977:666) assertion that, in middle-class families of this period, the "total emotional life of all members was almost entirely focused within the boundaries of the nuclear family". The familial framework within which most mourning took place is understandable in this context, but the presence in Southampton of extra-familial monuments indicates that the importance of the family as an emotional unit did not preclude the development of important emotional bonds outside of the home, bonds which might, in some circumstances, be afforded a defining role in commemorating the deceased. Walter (2007:125) noted that the "funeral affirms not the deceased as an individual, nor even the nuclear family, but the diverse networks of relationships in which family members are enmeshed", and in some instances, this also appears to be the case with memorialising the dead. A similar set of practices is seen in the Glasgow Necropolis in the commemoration of clergymen, and this will be discussed in the next chapter.

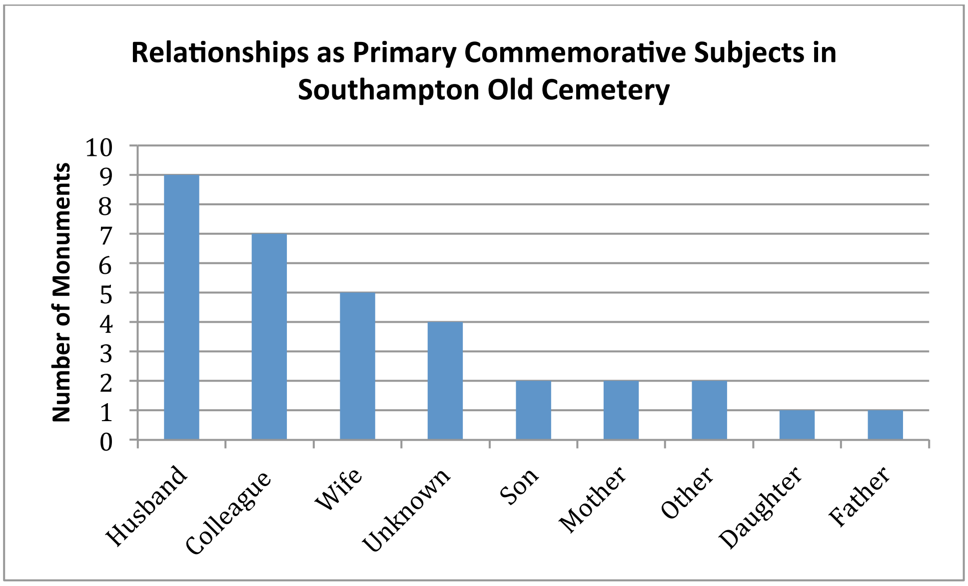


Figure 5.30 Graph showing the number of monuments initially dedicated to different relationships in the Southampton sample.

Site specific patterns of monument use: grouping monuments grouping people.

Thus far we have been discussing the data from these samples more or less in isolation, considering in turn the formal composition of the samples, the occupations of those involved, the sizes of monuments etc. It is when these different pieces of data are combined, however, that interesting patterns become discernible, as in the case of the extra-familial commemoration of mariners at Southampton. Most of these combinations do not indicate any differentiated patterns of monument usage. There is some slight co-variation of servant employment and monument types at each site in that the average number of residential servants employed by families erecting different monument types varies a little, but in neither sample is the variation significant (Figure 5.31). Similarly, when monument height and servant employment are compared, there is some slight co-variation in the Southampton sample; the households to which the four tallest monuments belonged all employed at least one servant, which is higher than the average. There is no sign of co-variance between these variables in Bath (Figure 5.32).

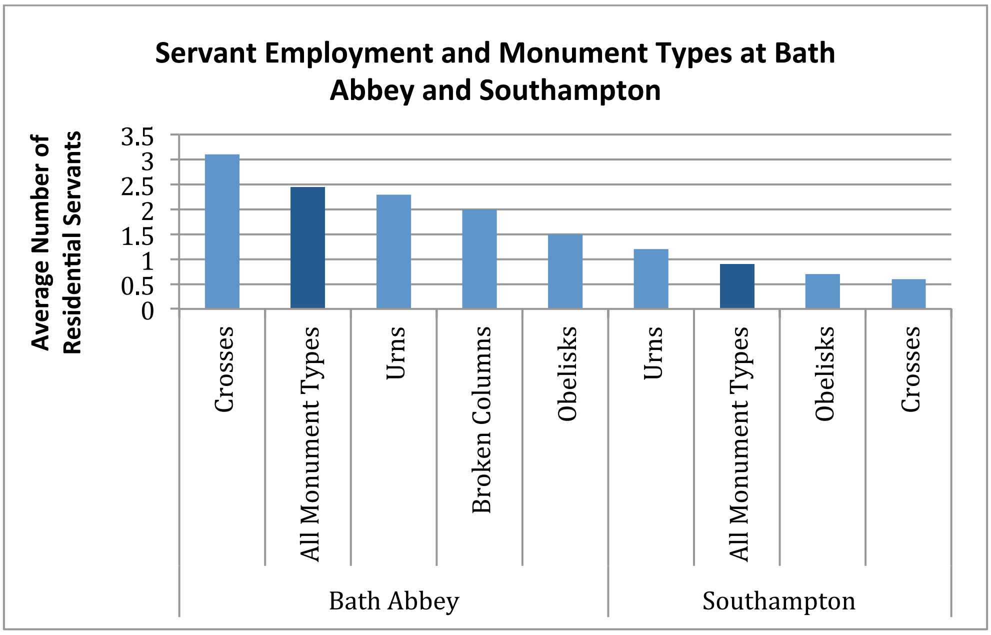


Figure 5.31 Average number of residential servants employed in households erecting different types of monuments at Southampton and Bath Abbey Cemeteries.

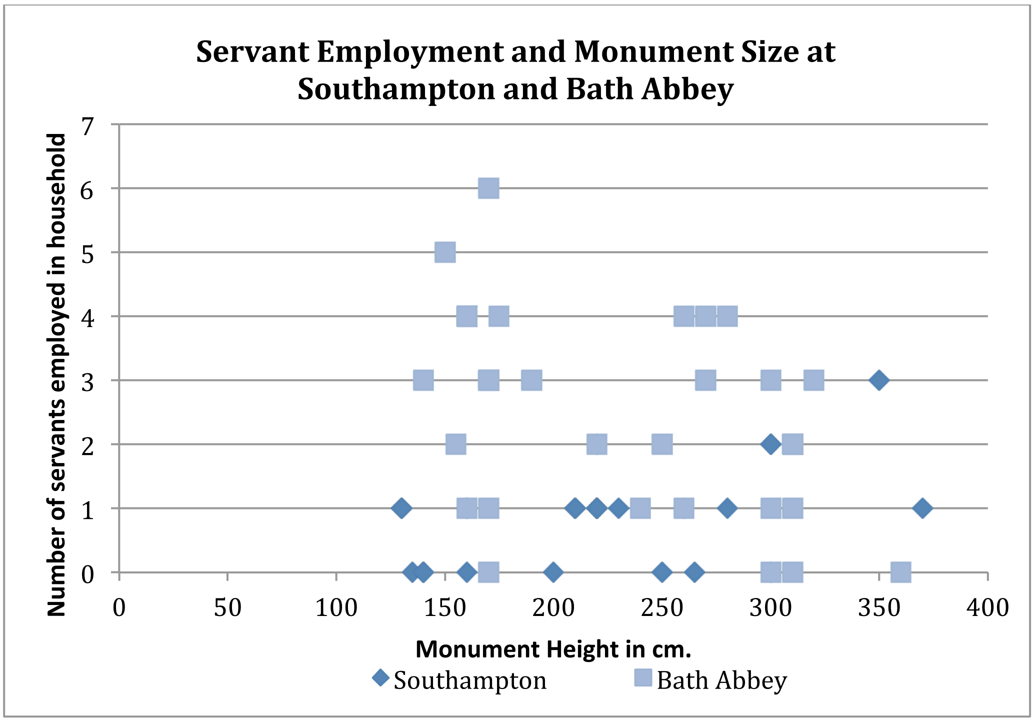


Figure 5.32 Residential servant employment and monument height at Bath Abbey and Southampton.

When monument types, relationships, and occupations are compared, however, three patterns emerge. At Southampton there is a clear association of mariners with extra-familial commemoration, obelisks, and Nonconformity. At Bath Abbey obelisks were associated both with the commemoration of wives, and with military households. At neither site were Gothic cross monuments or urn monuments associated with any occupationally or relationship-specific usages, save in regard to the religious differentiation in cross usage, which is discussed in the next chapter. The large number of crosses used by families supported by private means in the Bath Abbey sample is not statistically significant (Fisher's exact test, two-sided significance P = 0.497, see Appendix 2.1) (Figure 5.33).

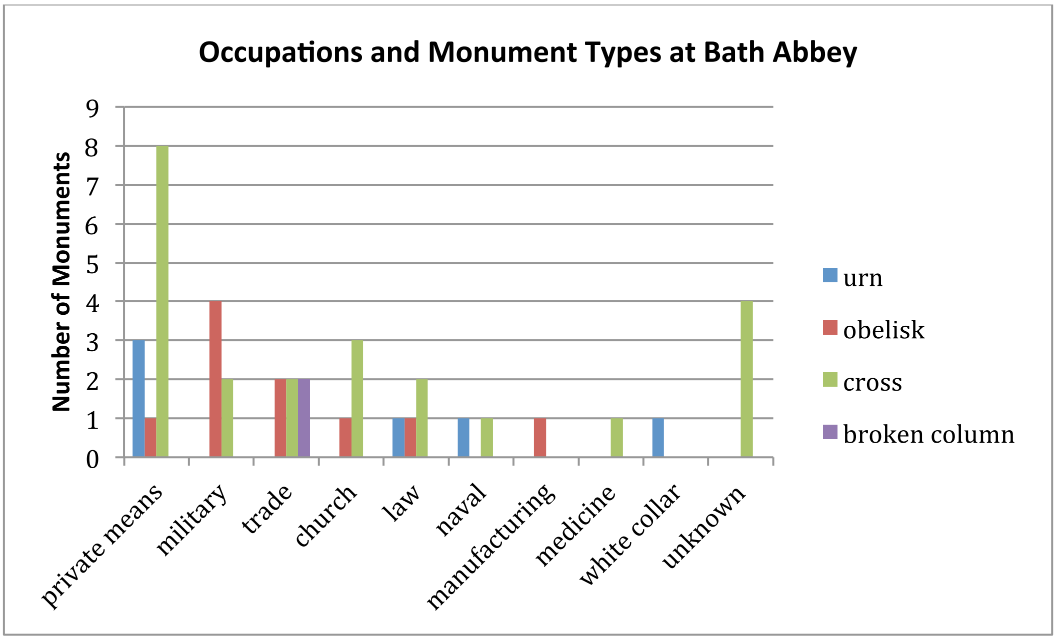


Figure 5.33 Monument types and occupations (as grouped in Scheme 1) at Bath Abbey.

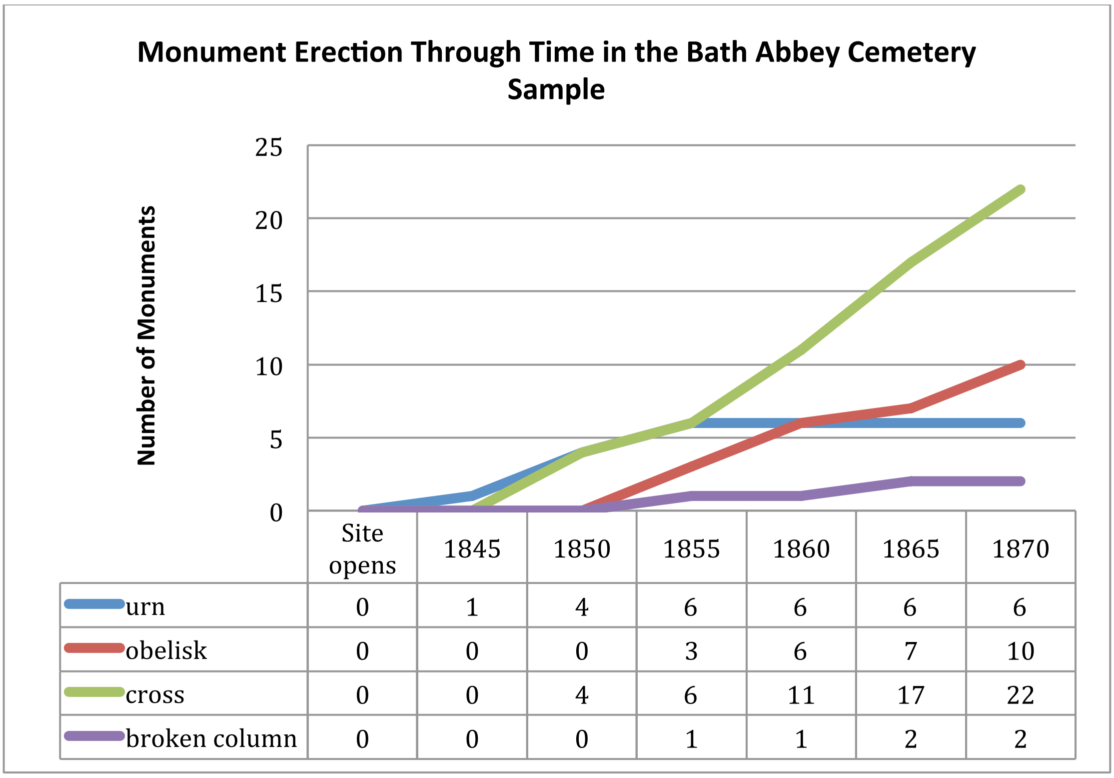
Occupational Folk Groups and Commemoration

Bath Abbey:

Looking first at the occupational aspect to these patterns, at both sites, obelisks were used in association with specific professional groups as defined under Scheme 1. These groups are not framed as a proxy for status and do not relate to specific socieconomic statuses; the military families in Bath range from one headed by a captain to the family of a major general. Rather, these are groups that share an occupational culture and might even be considered folk groups or subcultures (Stewart 2011:11-13). Stewart defines folk groups as "groups of people who come together to perform an action or series of actions, and as a consequence of their shared experience, develop a set of group values and beliefs that they express through various means" (ibid:13). In the case of merchant seamen and soldiers, these activities comprise their occupations. The cultures of such groups produce myths, songs, art, ways of speaking and codes of behaviour, which spring from the sharing of extensive knowledge and experience to which non-members are not privy (ibid:16). Stewart discusses sailors as an occupational folk group, but the concept is equally valid as an approach to understanding the intense bonding and sense of identity afforded by a military career. Lieutenant Colonel Richard Tatton of H.M. 77th Regiment who died in 1857 (monument 2021) would likely never have met Captain Peter Gapper, Paymaster of H.M. 64th Regiment of Foot (monument 2015), but they would have shared a sense of shared knowledge and identity not applicable to the non-military.

It is in this light that the commemorative material of military families in the Bath Abbey sample, and the commemoration of mariners in the Southampton sample is analysed. The use of specific monument types by and for members of these groups should not be seen either as aspirational and status-oriented, nor as a form of stylistic communication intended to signal the identity of the deceased. Rather, the occupational identities of these individuals, and their families, are a defining structure in their engagement with the world, affecting their entire world view, including those practices surrounding death. Their occupationally specific commemorative practices should therefore be seen as more akin to the affects of religious identity in commemoration, and not as an articulation of occupation as a status marker. This approach raises several questions, however: why should these monument types in particular be used; where should we locate these particular elements of occupational culture as developing; within what contexts can we discern these practices and why in these settings and not others; how should we define the boundaries of groups such as these; and how do occupationally specific commemorative practices intersect with the uses that non-members make of the same forms?

Looking first at the use of obelisks in association with military families in the Bath Abbey sample, the first obelisks erected in the cemetery were dedicated to deaths in the early 1850s (monuments 2009, 2036, and 2022). The dating of monuments is acknowledged as being an uncertain process; a monument might not be erected immediately after a death or might be a later replacement for the original monument, even if there is no chronological disruption in the order of the inscription (Mytum 2002b). The frequency and significance of such chronological disruptions is discussed in chapter seven but, in general, unless there are any indications to the contrary, it is assumed that the date of the earliest death corresponds to the date of the monument's erection. On this basis, in both Southampton and Bath Abbey the earliest obelisk-use dates to around 1850 (Figure 5.13, Figure 5.34). From 1850 until the end of the surveyed period, five or six obelisks were erected each decade at Bath Abbey Cemetery until, by the end of 1870, eleven obelisks could be found in the cemetery, ten erected to private individuals, and one erected to the 14 citizens of Bath lost in the Crimean War.



	Site opens	1845	1850	1855	1860	1865	1870
urn	0	1	4	6	6	6	6
obelisk	0	0	0	3	6	7	10
cross	0	0	4	6	11	17	22
broken column	0	0	0	1	1	2	2

Figure 5.34 The erection of surveyed monuments through time at Bath Abbey Cemetery, excluding those for which only approximate dating is possible.

Only four of the ten privately erected obelisks belonged to military families, which initially seems like a small proportion. However, this figure represents 40% of all obelisks, whereas military families represent only 16% of the families in the sample (excluding those that cannot be associated with an occupation). Looking at the use of obelisks from the opposite end, not in relation to the overall number of obelisks, but considering the overall number of military families identified in the sample, the association is somewhat clearer. Only six monuments erected by military families were identified in the sample, four of which were obelisks. Of the six military monuments, three primarily commemorated the deaths of *members* of the military, and all of these were obelisks. When these figures were analysed statistically, there was a significant association between obelisks and the commemorative practices of military families generally, and specifically in the commemoration of *members* of the military. Those monuments that cannot be associated with any occupational data are excluded, meaning that we are discussing a total of 37 monuments. The P value calculated using the Fisher's exact test for the former question (regarding the commemorative practices of military families regardless of whether the commemorative subject is themselves a member of the army) was 0.035 (two-sided significance), which falls below the level of significance of 0.05 (see appendix 2.2). The P value obtained regarding the commemoration of members of the military with obelisks, was 0.015 (two-sided significance), again falling below the 0.05 level of significance (see appendix 2.3). Although the numbers of monuments involved here are very small (see Figure 5.35 and Figure 5.36), the Fisher's exact test is suited to these conditions, and is more likely to *miss* a significant result than the opposite.

	Obelisks	Crosses, urns and broken columns
Military Families	4	2
Non-Military Families	6	25

Figure 5.35 The numbers of military and non-military families using obelisks as opposed to crosses, urns or broken columns.

	Obelisks	Other monuments
Primary subject is a member of the army	3	0
Primary subject is not a member of the military	7	27

Figure 5.36 Military and non-military primary commemorative subjects

Obelisks in Bath Abbey were, then, being used preferentially by members of the military or their families, but they were not *only* being used by this group. After all, six of the ten obelisks in the sample were erected by families with no discernible connection to the military. This strongly suggests that whatever significance that obelisks may have had for members of the military, it did not preclude the use of obelisks by non-members. In response to the question of how occupationally specific commemorative practices intersect with the uses that non-members make of the same forms, we may suggest that a single form may have multiple usages within one landscape (as will become clear in the subsequent discussion of obelisks commemorating wives in Bath). As Buckham (2003:167) pointed out in relation to her study of the marking of children's burials in York Cemetery, a single type of commemorative behaviour might have "several co-existing meanings". In some cases the specific association of the monument is enhanced with associated imagery; the monuments erected for Assistant Surgeon of H.M. 94th Regiment William Westall (monument 2022, Figure 5.37) and Captain Peter Gapper (monument 2015, Figure 5.38), were embellished with sabres, flags, and other military regalia. The above results also suggest that membership of occupational folk cultures may in some circumstances extend beyond those who actually work in the profession, to their families; families headed by members of the army were more likely than other families to choose obelisk monuments, regardless of whether the initial commemorative subject was themselves a member of the military.

Figure 5.37 Monument 2022 (Bath Abbey), dedicated to William Westall, who died 1853. (Photograph: author, 2013.)

Figure 5.38 Monument 2015 (Bath Abbey), dedicated to Peter Gapper, who died 1866. (Photograph: author, 2013.)

Having acknowledged the involvement of families in occupational communities, it should be noted that one of the monuments erected to an officer was erected not by family members but, like the mariners' memorials in Southampton, by colleagues (monument 2022, Figure 5.37). The inscription on William Westall's monument reads:

TO
THE MEMORY OF
WILLIAM WESTALL ESQ^RE M.D.
LATE ASSISTANT SURGEON
OF H.M. 94^TH REGT
WHO DIED AT SEA
ON THE 27^TH JANUARY 1853
AGED 31 YEARS.
SINCERELY AND DEEPLY LAMENTED
BY HIS BROTHER OFFICERS
WHO
ERECT THIS CENOTAPH
AS A TRIBUTE
OF THE AFFECTIONATE REGARD
THEY ENTERTAINED FOR HIM.

The Morning Chronicle of Thursday May 26th 1853 records William Westall's death, "while returning from Australia to rejoin his regiment at Madras" and describes him as the son of William Westall Esqre of Bath (Morning Chronicle 1853:7). According to the census of 1851 William's father, sister and step-mother were living in Beaufort Buildings West (now 8-17 London Road), and there is no reason to believe that at least some of the family remained there when William died two years later. Nevertheless, as the inscription shows, it was not his familial relationships that were commemorated on his cenotaph, but the relationships he established with his 'brother officers'. It may be the case that the Westall family permitted William's colleagues and friends to erect the monument on the grounds that the group would be able to afford a finer monument, but this does not explain why his familial relationships are not mentioned on the stone. As we will see in relation to the extra-familial monuments in Southampton, it is not unusual for the commemoration of members of occupational folk groups to be relinquished by the family, and hints at the strength and importance of the bonds formed through the isolation, shared risk, and mutual dependence of active military service and long-distance seafaring.

The counterpoint to these observations is that in none of the other samples is a similar pattern of military commemoration discernible. The

Southampton, Key Hill and Glasgow Necropolis samples contain very few military families (one in Southampton, one in Key Hill, two in the Glasgow Necropolis), but at Kensal Green 44 monuments belonging to military households were identified. Military families in the London sample were slightly more likely to choose obelisks than families connected to other occupations; 36% of military families chose obelisks in comparison to 25% of other families (Figure 5.39). However, when these figures were analysed using the Fisher's exact test, the (two-sided) significance was 0.104, suggesting that the observed pattern is very likely to be the result of chance (see appendix 2.4).

	Obelisks	Urns, Crosses, and Broken Columns
Non-Military Families	80	243
Military Families	16	28

Figure 5.39 Military and Non-Military families and monument types at Kensal Green, excluding those monuments that cannot be associated with an occupation.

Why, then, should obelisks be used preferentially by military families and in association with military graves in Bath Abbey but not in the Kensal Green sample? Furthermore, to the author's knowledge this association has not been identified elsewhere. Is the Bath Abbey Cemetery sample an exception, perhaps the result of some unidentified flaw in the sampling methodology or the consequence of some undetected biased preservation? The fact that the association is specifically between *military* commemoration and obelisks makes this seem less likely. To 21st century eyes the association of obelisks with military deaths, and specifically with cenotaphs, is totally normal, thanks to the ubiquity of obelisk form memorials to the fallen of the First and Second World Wars. Even in the second quarter of the 19th century, however, there were examples of obelisks being used as memorials or tributes to military individuals and victories. Specifically, Nelson was the subject of at least three such obelisks in the first decade of the 19th century: the 1807 obelisk erected by Alexander Davidson on his estate at Swarland in Northumberland; the 1806 example at Springfield Park in Liverpool, which at the time was the private park of the estate of local sugar refiner, Mr Downward, who erected the monument; and the enormous 144ft obelisk erected on Glasgow Green by public subscription in

1806. Nelson's connection to the form may reasonably be traced to his victory over Napoleon at the battle of the Nile in 1798 but, by the middle of the 19th century a broader usage of obelisks as military cenotaph memorials was developing (as the Crimean memorial in Bath demonstrates). Curl (2005:xxii) has argued that this broader military association should be traced via Rome, rather than from Egypt via Nelson.

One possibility is that the private usage of obelisks in connection with military individuals and families in the Bath Abbey sample was a local iteration of this broader pattern. Certainly, this a plausible framework for understanding the memorial erected for William Westall, which is a direct translation into private commemorative practice of public tributes like those offered to Nelson. Why, however, should this become translated into familial commemoration in Bath Abbey and not in Kensal Green, or, to the author's knowledge, elsewhere? Folk cultures are far from monolithic; members, like non-members, are also gendered; are members of specific age cohorts; belong to different religions; come from different places; live in different places; earn differing amounts; and move in different social circles. The recognition of local variation in the practices associated with a large-scale occupational folk culture is therefore not surprising, and it may be the case that the articulation of familial military commemoration with obelisks in Bath Abbey Cemetery was a localised practice, possibly even specific to the site itself. If this were the case, one factor in this local development could be the presence there of the Crimean War Memorial obelisk. However, two of the obelisks erected by or for military families are likely to have been erected before the Crimean Memorial was put up in 1856. One of these was the Westall monument, and the other was dedicated to Margaret Gun, who died in September 1852, by her husband Major William Gun (monument 2036, Figure 5.65). This latter monument, when considered in relation to the six non-military obelisks, reminds us that attempting to reduce practices as complicated as commemoration to a handful of influences and explicit meanings is both naïve and misleading. As Miller (2008:192) observed "life is overdetermined", and there is no sense in attempting to directly equate obelisks with one use or reduce them to symbols with straightforwardly linear relationships to some singular referent. As we will see, obelisk use in Bath Abbey

Cemetery was associated as much with the commemoration of wives as with military families, and the use of this form as specifically uxorial monuments, more than the military connection, must be understood as developing through and with the emerging cemetery landscape.

Southampton:

The extra-familial commemoration of mariners in Southampton also demonstrates the futility of attempting to reduce the significance of commemorative choices and practices to a single frame of reference, or of envisaging each memorial as somehow 'complete' when it has been erected and initially dedicated. The use of obelisks in Southampton intersects not only with the folk culture of the mariner community, but also with religious identities, and, like the Westall monument in Bath Abbey Cemetery, with practices surrounding the commemoration of absent bodies. It also demonstrates the fluidity of the boundary between familial and extra-familial mourning and commemoration, as the significance of some of these monuments shifts and develops with the addition of subsequent commemorative subjects.

Shipping comprises the single largest occupational group in the Southampton sample (as defined under Scheme 1, see Figure 5.15), and extra-familial relationships are the second most frequently commemorated relationships (as primary subjects) (see Figure 5.30). These two patterns of use overlap: seven of the eight monuments erected for mariners were erected by groups of colleagues; and all of the monuments erected by extra-familial groups were dedicated to individuals who worked in shipping (Figure 5.40). When this distribution was analysed using the Fisher's exact test, the exact sig. (2 sided) was 0.000, which means that the pattern is highly unlikely to have occurred by chance (see appendix 2.5).

	Members of shipping occupations	Members of other Occupations
Monuments dedicated to extra-familial commemoration	7	0

Monuments dedicated to familial Commemoration	1	20

Figure 5.40 Comparison of extra-familial commemoration and membership of shipping related occupations, excluding the five monuments for which either (or both) data regarding occupations or relationships was unavailable.

There is a significant association between extra-familial commemoration and shipping-related occupations. More specifically, of the seven communally commemorated mariners, five were engineers or Chief Engineers, one was a Chief Steward, and one was a ‘shipping clerk’, and all worked for one of three large companies operating out of Southampton (The Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company, The Royal Mail Steam Packet Company and The Union Steam Ship Company). There is no indication, however, that it was the companies themselves that undertook the purchasing and erection of monuments. Much like the Westall monument in Bath Abbey (monument 2022), all of the extra-familial monuments were dedicated to the deceased from either “friends”, “brothers” or “fellows”, strongly suggesting that these were the gestures of informal groups of colleagues, rather than official gestures from impersonal enterprises.

Also like the Westall monument, three of the extra-familial monuments in Southampton were cenotaphs (Figure 5.41, Figure 5.42, and Figure 5.43). Stewart (2011:135), in his study of the commemorative practices of the maritime folk community, points out that death abroad or at sea was a significant risk for mariners, and it was very unusual for a body to be retrieved or returned. It was not until the late 18th century that cenotaph memorials for lost seamen began being used. This coincides with the increase in commemorative materials more generally, and can be seen as part of the same increasing interest in managing an ongoing relationship with the dead and the use of material culture and designated spaces of commemoration as part of this. From the 1790s onwards, a significant proportion of all maritime memorials were cenotaphs, and it remained this way until the 20th century (ibid:137). These cenotaph monuments might be erected by families, seamen’s aid societies (ibid:146), or groups of colleagues. Stewart (ibid:155, 154) differentiates between these, arguing that whereas cenotaphs erected by families acted to provide a proxy for the unknown grave (or patch of seabed) where the deceased lay, enabling the commemorative practices associated with the presence of a body, the cenotaphs erected by colleagues more often took the form of plaques in churches of other non-graveside memorials. The colleague memorials "tend to perpetuate the memory of the person rather than providing a space for visitation. They also stress duty to king or country rather than emotional love, as shown by the common use of words such as 'esteem' or 'respect'" (ibid:154).

Figure 5.41 Monument 1001 (Southampton Cemetery, Unconsecrated Section) dedicated to Matthew Boag, who died November 1866 "at Demerara". (Photograph: author, 2012.)

Figure 5.42 Monument 1002 (Southampton Cemetery, Unconsecrated Section) dedicated to Robert Crawford, who drowned at sea in March 1862. (Photograph: author, 2012.)

Figure 5.43 Monument 1004 (Southampton Cemetery, Unconsecrated Section) dedicated to Alexander Ritchie who died abroad, some time in the 1850s. (Photograph: author, 2012.)

In this latter respect, Stewart's observation resonates with the extra-familial monuments at Southampton: 'esteem' 'respect' and 'affection' are the words most commonly used in the inscriptions of these monuments. However, the cenotaphs are very much presented as grave sites, and there is little ostensible difference between the three monuments erected without bodies and the four that did in fact stand over corpses. Furthermore, the distinction between extra-familial monuments and a familial commemoration is not as clear-cut in the Southampton sample as Stewart suggests; the fact that the monument was erected by colleagues did not mean that it was not also a site of familial commemoration.

Three of the extra-familial monuments erected for seamen were subsequently used by the families of the deceased as family memorials. This indicates, firstly, that extra-familial commemoration was not the preserve of the family-less. It could, of course, be the case that in these instances colleagues took responsibility because the family could not afford to undertake permanent commemoration, but even so, the lack of familial dedications in the initial inscriptions of these monuments suggests that occupational ties were permitted precedence. This strongly suggests not only how important the occupational identity of the deceased was, but also how important the relationships established through the construction of this identity were considered to be. The shifting usage of these monuments also indicates the fluidity of a memorial's significance over time, being initially involved equally in the familial and occupational relationships of the deceased, and over time gaining more ties to the family, until it was primarily a site of private familial grief. This was the case with the memorial dedicated to William Brown, who died in 1861. The primary inscription, on the east face, reads:

Figure 5.44 Monument 1038 (Southampton Cemetery, Consecrated section) William Brown, died 1861. (Photograph: author, 2012).

IN MEMORY OF
WILLIAM BROWN
LATE
SUPERINTENDENT ENGINEER
OF THE
UNION STEAM SHIP COMPANY
WHO DIED NOV^R^ 4^TH^ 1861
AGED 36 YEARS
THIS MONUMENT IS ERECTED
BY A FEW FRIENDS
AS A TOKEN OF REGARD.

The initial inscription clearly identifies the monument as the result of extra-familial bonds (in this case it is not explicit that these were colleagues, but the inclusion of his occupation suggests so), but the secondary inscriptions on the north and west faces commemorate two of William's daughters, who died in 1886 and 1941. Monuments 1003 and 1037, dedicated to Alexander Gray and William Cutler respectively, illustrate a similar trajectory from extra-familial memorials with no indication that the deceased had any family at all, to familial memorials commemorating several members of the family.

Conversely, and illustrating the fluidity of these practices, one monument, primarily dedicated to Matthew Boag, late Chief Engineer with the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company, who died at Demerara in 1866, was also dedicated to another Chief Engineer, one George Jarvie, who died in Honduras six years previously. Jarvie is commemorated on a secondary face, the inscription of which begins "ALSO// IN MEMORY OF" indicating that he was the secondary subject (monument 1001). The implication is that extra-familial commemoration could become woven into the individual history and emotional landscape of a specific family, or could remain the primary preserve of the non-family group that created it, being re-used by that extra-familial group so that it became a communal memorial dedicated to multiple unrelated individuals. One differentiating factor between those monuments reused by the families of the deceased, and those that are either not re-used, or are dedicated to another colleague is the presence/absence of the body. For all that the cenotaph monuments and those that actually house bodies *look* similar, none of the cenotaph monuments were subsequently used by the family of the deceased, and none of those which housed bodies were used in the commemoration of other colleagues. This is not because the cenotaphs relate to non-local individuals; both Matthew Boag (monument 1001) and Alexander Ritchie (monument 1004), who died abroad and had cenotaphs erected by colleagues, lived in Southampton, and Boag left a widow behind. Rather, it may be that in the absence of a body, a family may not feel the same right to subsequent use of a plot purchased by colleagues.

Interestingly, there are no familial memorials for mariners lost at sea or abroad in the Southampton sample, only the co-opting of extra-familial memorials described above. There is, however, an example in the Bath Abbey Cemetery sample. Stewart (2011:138) comments that one of the most common forms of commemorating lost sailors was to inscribe them onto the headstone of another deceased relative, sometimes at the time of the sailor's death, and sometimes much later when another family death occurred. This was the case with monument 2026 in Bath, which commemorates the death of Tyrone Power nearly a decade after his death at sea:

Figure 5.45 Monument 2026 (Bath Abbey Cemetery) Tyrone and Maurice Henry Power, erected 1849. (Photograph: author, 2013.)

SACRED
TO THE MEMORY OF
TYRONE POWER
WHO PERISHED IN THE STEAM SHIP PRESIDENT
IN MARCH 1841, AGED 42.
ALSO OF
MAURICE HENRY POWER
SECOND SON OF THE ABOVE
OF LINCOLNS INN BARRISTER AT LAW
WHO DIED SUDDENLY OF CHOLERA
AT BATH
ON THE 9TH OF OCTOBER 1849
AGED 28 YEARS
THIS MONUMENT IS ERECTED BY
A SORROWING WIFE AND MOTHER.

Two further aspects of the varied and shifting practice of extra-familial commemoration in Southampton are worth exploring: firstly, the majority of the extra-familial monuments were erected in the unconsecrated section (see Figure 5.46). When this distribution was analysed using the Fisher's exact test the exact significance (two-sided) is 0.008, meaning that it is unlikely to be the result of random variation (see appendix 2.6). This does not appear to be the result of the religious make-up of the maritime community as, although members of this group are found in the Anglican section, they are less likely to be commemorated by their colleagues than their Nonconformist counterparts; the only mariner commemorated by their family rather than their colleagues is buried in the consecrated section of the cemetery. The practice of extra-familial commemoration is, therefore, not simply the consequence of the occupational folk culture of mariners, but is practiced through a denominationally specific lens. As Stewart (ibid:18) points out, the variety within any folk group stems at least in part from the other identities, amongst them religious identities, that its members have.

	Consecrated section	Unconsecrated section
Monuments dedicated to extra-familial commemoration	2	5
Monuments dedicated to familial Commemoration	19	3

Figure 5.46 Monuments dedicated to family members and non-family members in the consecrated and unconsecrated sections of Southampton Cemetery, excluding the four monuments for which the relationship between subject and erector is unknown.

Secondly, as in the Bath Abbey sample, there is an association between these occupational communities' commemorative practices and obelisks; of the seven monuments dedicated to non-family members, six contained obelisk elements. Only three were complete obelisks, with pitched pointed tops. The other three had flat tops to accommodate small top-elements, in only one case did this element remain, that dedicated to William Cutler (monument 1037), which has a small urn on top.

Figure 5.47 Monument 1037 (Southampton Cemetery consecrated section) dedicated to William Cutler, of the Peninsular Oriental Steam Company, who died 1856, by "the men who served under him as a tribute of sincere regard and esteem for one whose name will long be remembered by those who knew and loved him well" (image is at an angle because of other monuments obstructing the view). (Photograph: author, 2012.)

When the three monuments with obelisk elements are classed as obelisks, disregarding their top features, there is a statistically significant association between obelisks and extra-familial commemoration and between obelisks and the commemoration of members of shipping occupations (Figure 5.48 and Figure 5.49). When these distributions were analysed using the Fisher's exact test, the exact significance (two-sided) was 0.026 (in relation to the comparison of obelisk use and extra-familial commemoration), and 0.032 (in relation to the comparison of obelisk use and shipping occupations) (see appendices 2.7 and 2.8).

	Obelisks	Urns and Gothic crosses
Monuments dedicated to extra-familial commemoration	6	1
Monuments dedicated to familial Commemoration	7	15

Figure 5.48 Comparison of obelisk use with extra-familial commemoration, excluding four monuments for which the relationship between the commemorative subject and monument erector was unknown.

	Obelisks	Urns and Gothic crosses
Monuments dedicated to members of shipping occupations	6	2
Monuments dedicated members of other occupations	6	17

Figure 5.49 Comparison of obelisk use in the commemoration of members of shipping occupations, excluding two monuments for which data relating to occupations was unavailable.

As these P values fall below the pre-defined significance level of 0.05 they are considered significant, although it should be noted that they are not as low as the P values obtained from the comparison of extra-familial commemoration and shipping occupations, or the comparison of extra-familial commemoration and denominational setting. It should be emphasised that, although obelisks were used more frequently in commemorating non-family members and shipping professionals, they were not synonymous with either of these practices; not all extra-familial or shipping monuments were obelisks, and not all obelisks were used in connection with these groups. It is not the case that an obelisk indicated, symbolised, or in some way 'meant' maritime death and non-familial commemoration; the commemorative landscape is not a cypher. Rather, when choosing a monument with which to mark the death of a lost (metaphorically or literally) colleague, mariners preferred to choose obelisks.

Why, however, should this particular monument form be used preferentially by this group and in this specific way? Stewart (2011:171) argues that, up to the beginning of the 19th century, mariners generally followed the broader patterns of monument use amongst non-mariners but that, after this point, their practices began to diverge. The main difference that emerged in the 19th century was that monuments erected *by* sailors *for* sailors contained less religious imagery than the broader memorial body, and when they did contain religious icons, these were distinct from those used by other sections of society, and even differed from the designs chosen by mariners' families (ibid:184-5). The causes of these differences appear relatively straightforward: the lower frequency of religious iconography could be the consequence of the generally irreligious tendencies of the group, although Stewart is quick to point out that some memorials indicate that religion was central to the lives of some seafarers (ibid:168). In terms of the iconography used on mariners' graves, much of the difference that Stewart describes can be attributed to attempts on the part of sailors to use forms which resonated in some way with the material conditions of their occupation: the anchor as a symbol of Christ rather than a lamb or shepherd; the use of rope-work as edging embellishment. Mytum's (1990:24) study of memorials initially dedicated to mariners in the churchyard of St Dogmaels' church, in a seaside village in Pembrokeshire, echoes this; there were fewer crosses and more urns amongst the memorials of mariners than the rest of the population, and more frequent use of rope-work decoration.

The Southampton sample differs from these characterisations, however. Cross use was not actually much less frequent in the commemoration of shipping occupations in Southampton than in the rest of the sample; even though there was only one cross dedicated to a mariner (erected by his widow), this represents approximately 12% of all maritime monuments, which is only a little lower than the rest of the monuments, of which 17% are Gothic crosses. Furthermore, none of the maritime monuments in Southampton have rope-work decoration, anchor designs, or any other religious or secular symbolism associated with the sea or seafaring. The only surface embellishments on the eight monuments dedicated to mariners (including the one familial monument, monument 1039) aside from the delineation of text panels and the finials on monument 1039 (Figure 5.50), were crossed palm fronds on monument 1037 (see Figure 5.47), and a floral (possibly thistle) decoration on monument 1038 (Figure 5.51). Both of these vegetal decorations were common across the broader commemorative landscape in the 19th century, and have been identified as symbols of immortality (Willsher 2005:44) and an allusion to the crown of thorns (Llewellyn 1991:99) respectively. Certainly they have no connection to the ocean.

Figure 5.50 Monument 1039 (Southampton Cemetery, consecrated section) erected for Henry Foreman, who died 1866, by his wife, Charity. (Photograph: author, 2012.)

Figure 5.51 Monument 1038 (Southampton Cemetery, consecrated section), erected for William Brown, who died 1861, by 'a few friends'. (Photograph: author, 2012.)

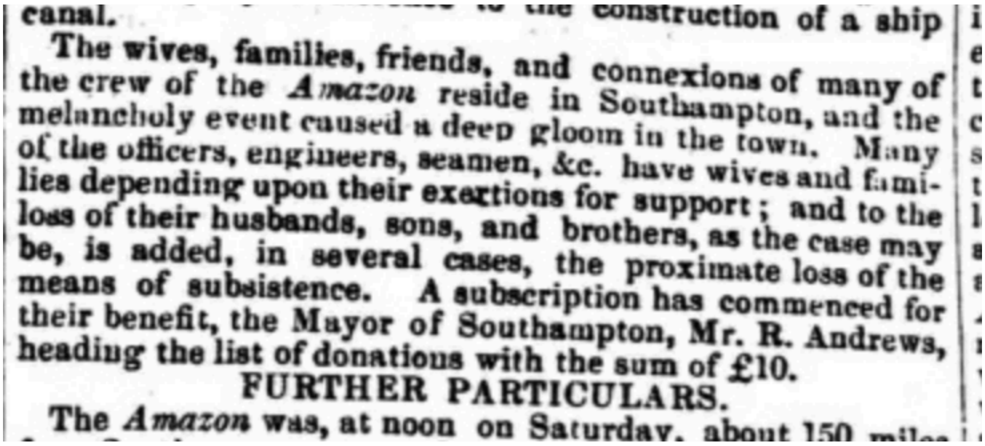
The approach taken by Stewart to the forms of mariners' monuments is therefore unsatisfying, both because it does not appear to apply to the Southampton sample and because it attributes the specificity of this community's commemorative materials to general associations (the anchor is part of a ship) and broad religious differences (sailors tend not to be as religious as other groups), rather than locating their development within the landscapes and practices with which they were entangled. More rewarding than looking for the broader associations of these monuments is to consider how this practice might have been "both composed and meaningful only at a local level" (Buckham 2003:167), within the cemetery itself.

Rather than seeing the commemorative landscape as a passive recipient of associations and meanings established elsewhere, its role as an influential partner in the development of commemorative practices should be recognised. The seven monuments erected by steam-ship company employees in Southampton Cemetery between 1856 and 1869 were chosen by their erectors within the developing context of the cemetery landscape and, as each monument was erected, it provided a reference point for subsequent practices. This landscape was the primary frame of reference for both the groups of colleagues who erected these monuments and the families who also used them in mourning their lost relative. There is good reason to think that these were important sites for the groups who erected them, not only as a mark of respect for a fallen colleague, or to provide a space for remembering them, but also as a site at which to reckon with the shared dangers and possible consequences of their professional lives and seek reassurance that no matter how far from home they died, someone at home would create for them a "space of their own" (Stewart 2011:154).

In 1862 Robert Crawford, who was the Chief Engineer of the Royal Mail Steam Packet's paddle steamer the *Magdalena,* drowned at sea, presumably somewhere on the ship's regular run between Southampton and the Caribbean. The circumstances of his death are not known and he is not traceable in the census so it is not certain whether he had family in Southampton, or at all, but his "friends in the Royal Mail Company's service" (as they described themselves in the monument's inscription) decided to erect a monument for him in the cemetery of his ship's home port (monument 1002, Figure 5.42). Their decision to do so was no doubt partly a "testimony of their respect and esteem for him" as they claimed on the monument, but it may also have been in some way a means of facing the possibility that they too would drown somewhere far away and never return. Crawford's death was an isolated incident in that the *Magdalena* was not sunk, but his death by drowning was far from unusual, as were deaths from tropical diseases, falling from rigging, being crushed by goods moving below decks, and any number of other individual accidents and misfortunes, aside from the more apocalyptic prospect of wrecks (ibid:7).

The *Magdalena*'s sister ship, the *Amazon* (also owned by the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company) was one such wreck. The *Amazon* caught fire and sank in the Bay of Biscay on her maiden voyage in January 1852, leading to the deaths of 115 passengers and crew. The event was reported in detail in the press, including vivid descriptions of people being flung off the burning ship into the dark sea. Many of the victims were from Southampton and the disaster caused a *"deep gloom"* (Figure 5.52) to descend on the town.

A wreck like that of the *Amazon* was not an everyday occurrence, but disasters like this provided an emblem of the mortality faced by mariners on a daily basis. Stewart calculates that the mortality rate amongst merchant seamen in the age of sail, which he counts as continuing up to the beginning of the 20th century, was approximately 1000 deaths per 100,000 mariners per annum (ibid:7), meaning that it was amongst the most dangerous professions at the time. In this light Stewart's claim that "the shadow of death always loomed over mariners and had a great hold on their collective subconscious" (ibid:11) does not sound like hyperbole.



canal. to the construction of a ship

The wives, families, friends, and connexions of many of the crew of the *Amazon* reside in Southampton, and the melancholy event caused a deep gloom in the town. Many of the officers, engineers, seamen, &c. have wives and families depending upon their exertions for support; and to the loss of their husbands, sons, and brothers, as the case may be, is added, in several cases, the proximate loss of the means of subsistence. A subscription has commenced for their benefit, the Mayor of Southampton, Mr. R. Andrews, heading the list of donations with the sum of £10.

FURTHER PARTICULARS.

The *Amazon* was, at noon on Saturday, about 150

Figure 5.52 Excerpt from an article regarding the sinking of the Royal Mail Steam Ship *Amazon* entitled 'A Melancholy Catastrophy' in the *Hampshire Advertiser & Salisbury Guardian* (Southampton, England) Saturday, January 10 1852 (courtesy of 19th Century British Library Newspapers: Part II).

It is not surprising, therefore, that when his colleagues decided to erect a cenotaph for Robert Crawford, there was already another cenotaph dedicated to a Royal Mail Steam Packet Company engineer by his colleagues. Alexander Ritchie, who died abroad some time during the 1850s (probably in the

Caribbean, where his ship the *Eagle* plied the inter-island trade) was commemorated by a draped urn pedestal monument just north of the Nonconformist Chapel, at the point at which the two of the main paths in the unconsecrated section cross (monument 1004, Figure 5.43). We know that Ritchie died during the 1850s because, although the date of his death is not entirely legible on the monument's inscription, we know that he was alive at the time of the 1851 census, and in 1860 the ship upon which he was serving at the time of his death was sold by the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company, meaning that he must have died before this time. Given that Ritchie's death preceded Crawford's by at least two years, it is likely that his monument was erected first, and as the two men (Ritchie and Crawford) worked as engineers for the same company, it is highly likely that at least some of the individuals involved in the erection of Robert Crawford's memorial had visited the cemetery when Alexander Ritchie's was put up. It is also possible that some of these men had also been acquainted with, and were familiar with the monument dedicated to William Brown, the Superintendent Engineer of the Union Steam Ship Company, who died (in England) in 1861 and was commemorated by his friends with an obelisk monument (which originally had a small top-element, probably an urn), in the consecrated section of the cemetery (monument 1038, Figure 5.44 and Figure 5.51). If they had visited the site for the setting of these memorials, they might also have been familiar with the obelisk and urn monument erected for the shipping administrator William Cutler by his colleagues at the Peninsular Oriental Steam Navigation Company (P&O), which stood in the consecrated part of the cemetery (monument 1037, Figure 5.47).

This was the context within which Robert Crawford's colleagues made their decision regarding what kind of monument to use; they picked a site opposite the monument of Alexander Richie, and they chose a monument form very similar to those used to commemorate William Brown and William Cutler (Figure 5.53 shows the locations of these monuments). Through their choice of site and form they wove their commemorative choice into the gradually emerging fabric of their occupational commemorative culture as it was practiced at this particular site. Why the colleagues of William Cutler, the first commemorative monument in the survey, chose an obelisk and urn monument is in many ways immaterial; their decision provided a reference point for subsequent extra-familial commemorative practices. This is not to suggest that each subsequent monument involved the passive replication of its predecessors, but to make the case that the relationship between the individual monument and the assemblage was not arbitrary or unimportant, but rather mutually constitutive and informative.

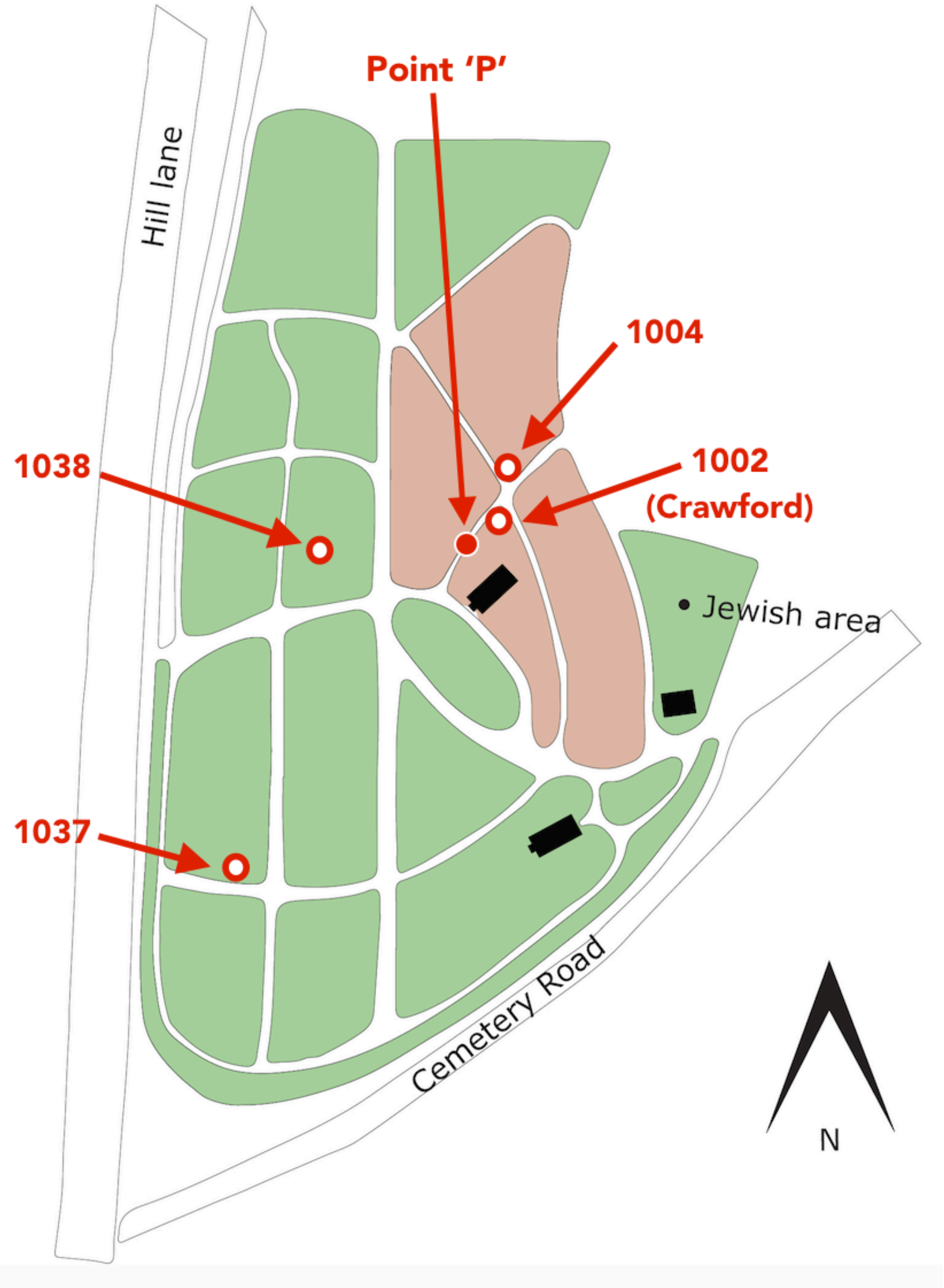


Figure 5.53 Map of Southampton showing the extra-familial monuments erected before the memorial dedicated to Robert Crawford was erected c.1862. Not to scale.

Figure 5.54 Monument 1009 (Southampton Cemetery, consecrated section), dedicated to Matthew Walter Staples, who was buried 1st January 1866. (Photograph: author, 2012.)

Figure 5.55 Monument 1003 (Southampton Cemetery, consecrated section) Alexander Gray, died 1869. (Photograph: author, 2012.)

Four years after Robert Crawford's monument was erected at the crossing paths, another cenotaph for a Royal Mail Steam Packet engineer was erected alongside it, so that this spot, which commanded views down four of the main paths in the unconsecrated section, became a site for communal commemoration, not of one lost engineer, buried somewhere far away or beneath the sea, but of several. The new memorial, an obelisk (monument 1001, Figure 5.41), was dedicated to two engineers, and although they were technically unrelated, the wording on the monument describes it as being erected by their "brother engineers", and its position alongside the other two Royal Mail Steam Packet Company cenotaphs brings to mind the groups of family memorials seen in the Glasgow Necropolis sample (see chapter seven) and elsewhere (McGuire 1988:447; Buckham 2005:150).

Not only were these three monuments grouped together, but in the same year (1866) another extra-familial obelisk was erected within sight of these, to the east of the Nonconformist chapel (monument 1009, Figure 5.54) dedicated to Walter Staples, a chief steward with the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Ship Company, who died on land. In 1869 they were joined by another extra-familial Peninsular and Oriental obelisk, erected for Alexander Grey, an engineer who died in 1869 (monument 1003, Figure 5.55). As the panorama shown in Figure 5.57 indicates, standing on the path to the north east of the Nonconformist chapel it was possible to see both the cluster of Royal Mail Steam Packet monuments and the monument erected for Alexander Gray (1003). By the end of the period studied, five of the seven extra-familial monuments stood within sight of at least one other, and Figure 5.58 shows their relative positions; 1037 and 1038 were the exceptions.

Figure 5.56 Detail of the panorama shown in **Figure 5.57**, showing the north east section of the panorama, where monuments 1001, 1002, and 1004 are visible. (Photograph: author, 2013.)

Figure 5.57 Panorama taken from point 'P' on **Figure 5.53**. Each panel shows a quarter of the panorama. Monument 1003 is visible at the centre of the top panel. The three Royal Mail Steam Packet Company monuments can be seen in the third image, just to the left of centre (see **Figure 5.56** for the detail of this view). The north corner of the Nonconformist chapel can be seen in the fourth image. (Photographs: author, 2013.)

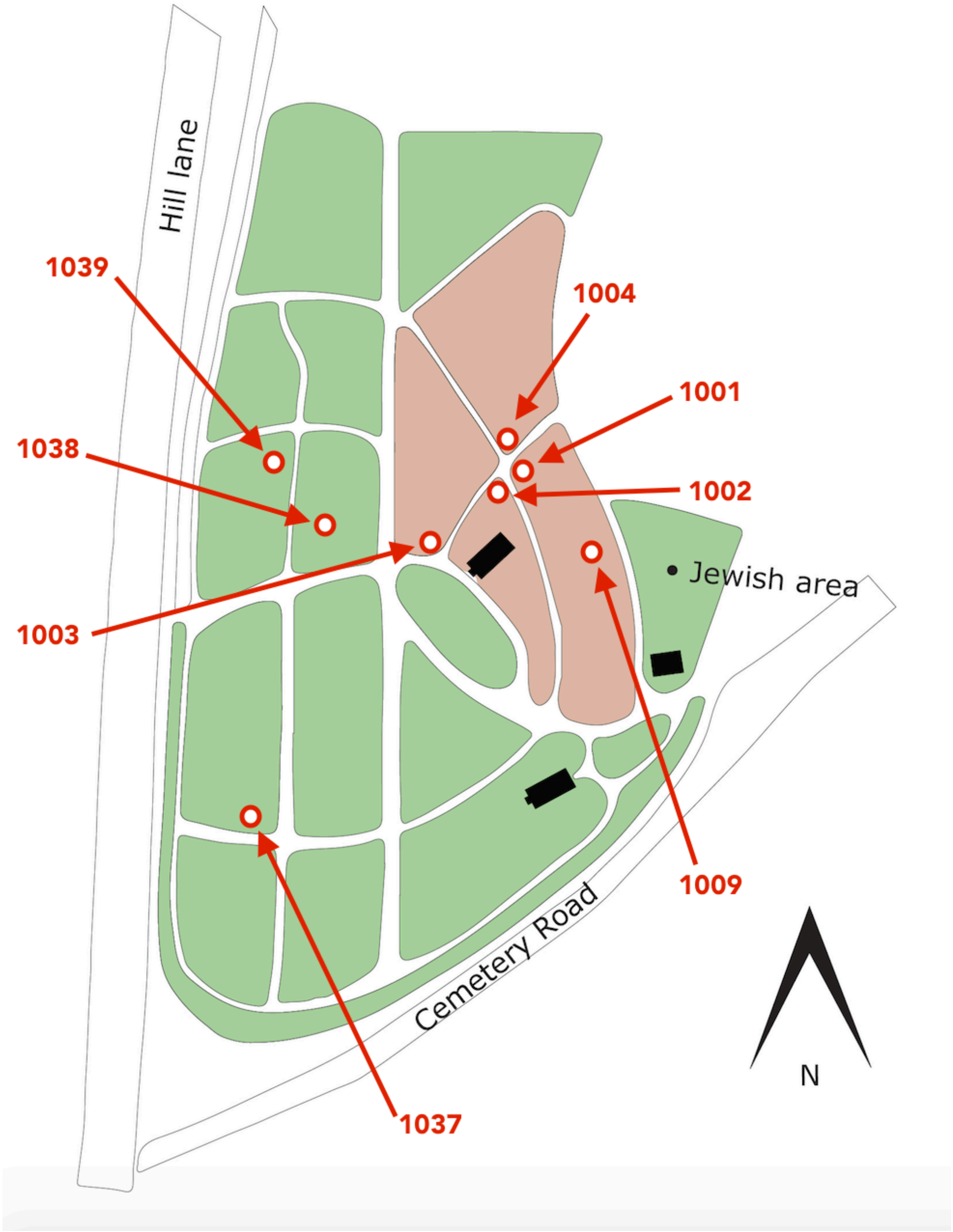


Figure 5.58 Map showing the extra-familial monuments in Southampton Cemetery at the end of the surveyed period. The Nonconformist section is shown in pink.

Uxorial memorials at Bath Abbey

In both Bath Abbey and Southampton Cemetery we have discussed the use of monuments in association with particular occupational identities, not as an other-oriented display of that identity for the purposes of status improvement, but as part of the folk culture of those occupations, which extends to particular modes of commemoration. In both cases, obelisks were associated with these groups and their practices, and it was suggested that this usage should not be seen as straightforwardly symbolic of those identities or necessarily as associated with them on a wider basis, but that the usage of these forms by these groups developed within the landscape of the cemeteries and was meaningful only within those contexts. In Bath Abbey Cemetery, however, obelisks were not only associated with the commemoration of military individuals or families, they were also preferentially used in the commemoration of wives.

This is a surprising pattern of use. As was suggested earlier, the association of military deaths with obelisks is not without precedent, and the development of occupationally specific commemorative practices by mariners, although not found elsewhere in the form taken in Southampton Cemetery, is attested to elsewhere in other forms (Stewart 2011). To the author's knowledge, the commemoration of wives with specific monument forms has not, however, been identified in any other samples.

Nor are there any direct parallels for this treatment of wives. When considered as the specialised commemoration of a particular kind of relationship, this pattern could be considered analogous, to some extent, to the use of obelisks in association with extra-familial relationships in Southampton, but there is no suggestion in the Bath sample that these monuments were related to the commemorative practices of a group defined by anything other than the commemorative subject itself. A more appropriate analogy might be the use of miniaturised monuments used to commemorate children in York Cemetery (Buckham 2003:170), in that the use of these memorials was not defined by occupational or religious cultures. However, children and infant deaths are defined not only by the relational status of these individuals as their parents' children, but by the age-status of the deceased; the miniaturised monuments Buckham (ibid:168) studied in York were used for 14% of children under 15 years of age. Older children commemorated by their parents were not associated with this kind of monument. It is the age status of the deceased, as much as their relationship with survivors that is the defining feature of this commemoration, indeed, it is the physical condition of youth that these monuments play upon, alluding to the miniaturised furniture and clothes of childhood and standing as an icon of the smallness of the child. The relationship between the form of these memorials and their subjects is not arbitrary but arises from their shared physical qualities and the significance of these monuments is therefore easily and intuitively understood. None of this is the case with the use of obelisks in Bath Abbey Cemetery.

Of the ten obelisks erected for private commemoration (rather than the Crimean War Memorial obelisk), seven were initially erected to commemorate wives. Only four other monuments in the sample were erected for wives, two Gothic crosses and two draped urns (Figure 5.59). When this distribution was analysed using the Fisher's exact test the P value (two-sided significance) was 0.002 (see Appendix 2.9), indicating that this distribution is unlikely to be the result of random variation.

	Obelisks	Urns and Gothic crosses
Monuments initially dedicated to wives	7	4
Monuments not initially dedicated to wives	3	26

Figure 5.59 Comparison of obelisk use and the commemoration of wives in the Bath Abbey Cemetery sample, excluding the one monument for which the relationship between the primary subject and the erector is unknown and could have been spousal (five other monuments were erected to commemorate unknown relationships but the subjects were either widows, unmarried, or male).

There is no indication that the husbands responsible for these monuments shared any occupational identity or differed in their occupational backgrounds from those who erected non-obelisk monuments to their deceased wives (Figure 5.60). The spread of occupations among the widowers erecting obelisks was similar to that of the sample as a whole (see Figure 5.15). There is no way of determining whether there was any religious difference between those choosing obelisks and other monuments, as this data was not recorded in the Bath Burial Index, but it can be assumed that the majority of those using this cemetery were Anglican.

	Obelisk	Gothic cross or urn
Church	1	1
Law	1	0
Manufacturing	1	0
Military	1	0
Naval	0	1
Private means	1	1
Trade	2	0
Unknown	0	1

Figure 5.60 The occupations (classified under Scheme 1) of widowers erecting monuments for their deceased wives in the Bath Abbey Sample.

It is likely that other monument forms, including plain headstone designs, plain Latin crosses, flat tablet memorials, or raised box tombs, had already been used to commemorate wives, but the first two monuments included in this survey which were erected by newly widowed men were a Gothic cross, and an elaborate monument that included an draped urn, not obelisks. On 24th September 1848 Mrs Catherine Thomas, wife of James Thomas Esq^{re}, died in Bath at the age of 42, and was buried in Bath Abbey Cemetery (monument 2025, Figure 5.61). The inscription on the Gothic headstone describes James Thomas as being 'of Mountpleasant Llandeilo', Mount Pleasant being an 18th-century double-fronted house on the east side of Llandeilo, still standing today. Neither Catherine nor Thomas were traceable in the census, however, nor were they listed in Bath's 1846 Post Office directory, suggesting that they were indeed usually resident in Llandeilo and may have been only visiting Bath at the time of Catherine's death, possibly for her health, although this is speculation. A month later, on 24th October, Mrs Jane Weeks Williams died aged 38, "after an illness of merely twenty four hours" (according to the inscription on her urn monument). Her husband, Francis Yerbury Williams, was listed in the 1851 census as a 'landed proprietor' living in a semidetached villa in Bath, and came from a wealthy family that owned a large country estate in Wiltshire centred upon the 18th-century mansion, Belcombe Court (or House). The monuments that these two men erected for their wives could hardly be more contrasting.

It is likely that Catherine Thomas' monument was erected first, not just because she died slightly earlier, but also because her monument was far smaller and less complex; a 1.3 metre, detailed cross-form headstone, including a geometrical and ring design and finials, not dissimilar to a design included in the Ecclesiologist Rev. Carter's 1842 set of Christian headstone designs (compare Figure 5.61 and Figure 5.62). It is the oldest Gothic cross monument in the sample and stands immediately to the west of the central axial path, half-way up the long slope of the site, below the point at which the carriageway loops round in a turning circle. Visitors on foot might have seen the memorial. The Williams monument occupied an even more visible position just northwest of the chapel, at the top of the site. It is a three metre-tall Greek temple type design, with four sets of fluted columns supporting a canopy over a draped urn and two sculpted figures (Figure 5.63). All visitors to the site would have been likely to see the memorial, and it is one of the most elaborate in the sample, along with the Hinds memorial, which was erected around the same time and is of a similar design (see Figure 5.21 and Figure 5.22 for a comparison of the monuments).

Figure 5.61 Monument 2025 (Bath Abbey Cemetery) dedicated to Catherine Thomas, who died 24th September 1828, aged 42. (Photograph: author, 2013.)

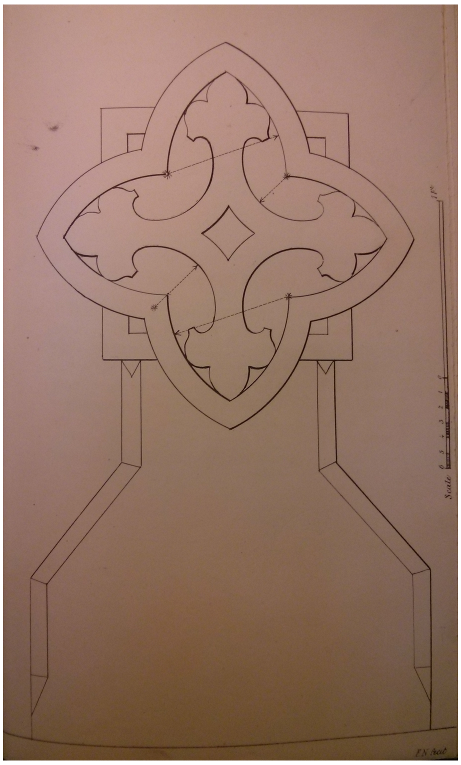


Figure 5.62 Headstone Design No. 7, by Mr Armstrong, in Carter 1842 p.24.

Figure 5.63 Monument 2019 (Bath Abbey Cemetery) Jane Weeks Williams, died 25th October 1848, aged 38. The chapel is visible in the background. (Photograph author's own, taken 2013.)

Both of these monuments occupied highly visible positions within the cemetery; the Thomas monument was far less eye-catching but, between them, they provided two distinct models for the commemoration of a spouse. However, from this point on, only one more Gothic cross (Figure 5.72), and one more urn monument were erected for deceased wives (Figure 5.66); the other seven uxorial monuments were all obelisks (Figure 5.64, Figure 5.65, and Figure 5.67 to Figure 5.71). As was indicated earlier, the use of obelisks in the military community had precedents outside the cemetery but, to the best of the author's knowledge, there is no broader association between women, wives, widowhood, or any other relevant concept, and obelisks.

It is possible that the producers of memorials were, for reasons unknown, endorsing the use of obelisks in the commemoration of wives, but there is no evidence of this. Furthermore, the number of monument producers listed in the city's trade directories increased during this period; seven statuaries, stone and marble masons were listed in Bath's trade directory in 1852, and there were eleven by 1864 (Vivian 1852:229; Wooster 1864:431). This would mean that the influence of the opinions of any one mason would have been increasingly diluted, and it is difficult to conceive of this as a consensus opinion shared between several local producers.

Understanding this phenomenon in terms of broader systems of signification or the influence of monument producers therefore appears fruitless. Nor does the local usage of obelisks particularly endorse a connection with wives. Obelisks had long been used in the city of Bath as public monuments but none were uxorial memorials. Two 18th-century obelisks in Bath commemorated the visits of the Prince of Orange and Frederick the Prince of Wales, and a three-sided obelisk form erected in 1837 commemorated the majority of Queen Victoria. The public placement of these monuments and their connection to royalty might be interpreted as a model for status emulation, but they do not suggest a particular connection between obelisks and wives. At most, the use of an obelisk in connection with the young queen might have suggested a gendered usage, but their use in the cemetery is not simply connected to women. Like the use of obelisks in Southampton, then, the commemoration of wives at Bath Abbey Cemetery may be best understood as "both composed and meaningful only at a local level", within the cemetery itself (Buckham 2003:167).

Monuments dedicated to wives in the Bath Abbey Cemetery sample 1850-1870. Photographs: author, 2013.

Figure 5.64 Monument 2009, Emma Mary Goodall, who died February 1851, aged 49.

Figure 5.65 Monument 2036, dedicated to Margaret Gun, who died September 1852, aged approximately 49.

Figure 5.66 Monument 2039, dedicated to Elizabeth Robinson, who died March 1854, aged approximately 60.

Figure 5.67 Monument 2016, dedicated to Grace Lawrance, who died April 1857, aged 87.

Figure 5.68 Monument 2038, dedicated to Charlotte Shepherd, who died November 1859, aged 63.

Figure 5.69 Monument 2002, dedicated to Elizabeth Winzar, who died December 1861, aged 63.

Monuments dedicated to wives in the Bath Abbey Cemetery sample 1850-1870. (Photographs: author, 2013.)


Figure 5.70 Monument 2001, dedicated to Mary Vincent, who died May 1866, aged 69.


Figure 5.71 Monument 2018, Hannah Ann Winslow, who died October 1866, aged approximately 50.


Figure 5.72 Monument 2034, dedicated to Jane Carver, who died August 1867, age unknown.

Given that the first monuments in the cemetery dedicated to wives were not obelisks, the emergence of this set of practices is clearly not a question of straightforward imitation. Such a model (of direct imitation) would, in any case, be overly simplistic: "life is overdetermined" (Miller 2008:192). To attempt to reduce such complex and emotionally potent decisions to a single mechanism, and a passive mechanism at that, would be to fail to recognise the people involved as "complex, feeling, thinking humans and not automata responding to situations in predetermined ways" (Tarlow 200:178). It is, however, worth lingering upon the role that the cemetery landscape might have had in the decisions of these widowers, especially as we cannot locate any point of influence outside the cemetery that might have encouraged this practice. The emerging cemetery landscape was the primary framework within which monuments were meaningful for their users; it provided a context of other commemorative acts within which they could frame their own experiences and decisions. It was the embodiment of how others had undertaken the commemorative tasks that these widowers too were facing; it was the congealed form of these tasks (Ingold 2000:199). And this would not have been an unfamiliar landscape, even for a man like James Thomas, who was not native to

Bath (monument 2025); at least one visit to the cemetery to pick the plot, and another for the burial, would be likely to happen before the decision as to commemoration was taken. For many of the local widowers, the cemetery would likely already be familiar, either as a result of weekend walks, or from previous burials.

By the end of 1853, four monuments dedicated to wives had been erected in the cemetery, two of which were obelisks. One of these was erected by Major William Gun (monument 2036, Figure 5.65), and therefore also resonates with the military associations of the form. There was also one further military obelisk, the memorial erected for the lost William Westall by his colleagues (monument 2022, Figure 5.37). The positioning of these five monuments within the site (Figure 5.73) meant that any visitor interested in reading the inscriptions on the memorials would be likely to have encountered a heterogeneous set of practices surrounding uxorial commemoration and obelisk use. This degree of engagement, to the extent of reading the inscriptions of the larger or more unusual monuments, may seem a high bar to expect from visitors, but judging from contemporary guidebooks, exploring sites in this way was not unusual (e.g. Blanchard 1843; Clark 1843). And although these publications were nominally concerned with the memorials of the notable dead, and claimed pious respect for the privacy of "the sacred memories blended with the many unostentatious virtues of domestic life" (Blair 1857:x), it is unlikely that the divide between the public property of the lives (and deaths) of the famous, and the privacy of ordinary bereavement, was respected in practice. The reading of strangers' graves was facilitated, intentionally or unintentionally, by the use of contrasting paint colours in monuments' inscriptions (monument 2033 still had traces of red paint in the inscription, much like monument 6024 in Key Hill Cemetery [see Figure 7.98]).

Figure 5.73 Bath Abbey Cemetery showing the obelisks and uxorial monuments erected before 1854. Illustration author's own, not to scale.

Such a visitor, entering the cemetery either via the carriageway or along the central axial path would likely have encountered more than one of the five monuments, especially since the three obelisks were the only ones of their kind in the cemetery at that time, and the Williams monument (monument 2019, Figure 5.63), was so eye-catching. This assemblage hardly presented a homogenous set of uses for obelisks or for the commemoration of wives, and it is not clear why subsequently, obelisks rather than alternative forms were used so consistently. What is clear is that after this point, four of the five subsequently erected uxorial obelisks were located within direct sight of another obelisk dedicated to a wife (Figure 5.74). Two of these were not just within sight of, but directly adjacent to another such monument (monuments 2038 and 2001). The exception to this was monument 2016 (Figure 5.67), which although not near to another uxorial obelisk, was within sight of the Williams memorial. Just as with the monuments erected by employees of the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company for their lost friends, there is a sense that the locations of the monuments in relation to each other is entwined with the choice of monument forms, and that the developing commemorative landscape cannot be disentangled from the emergent commemorative practices of which it is created.

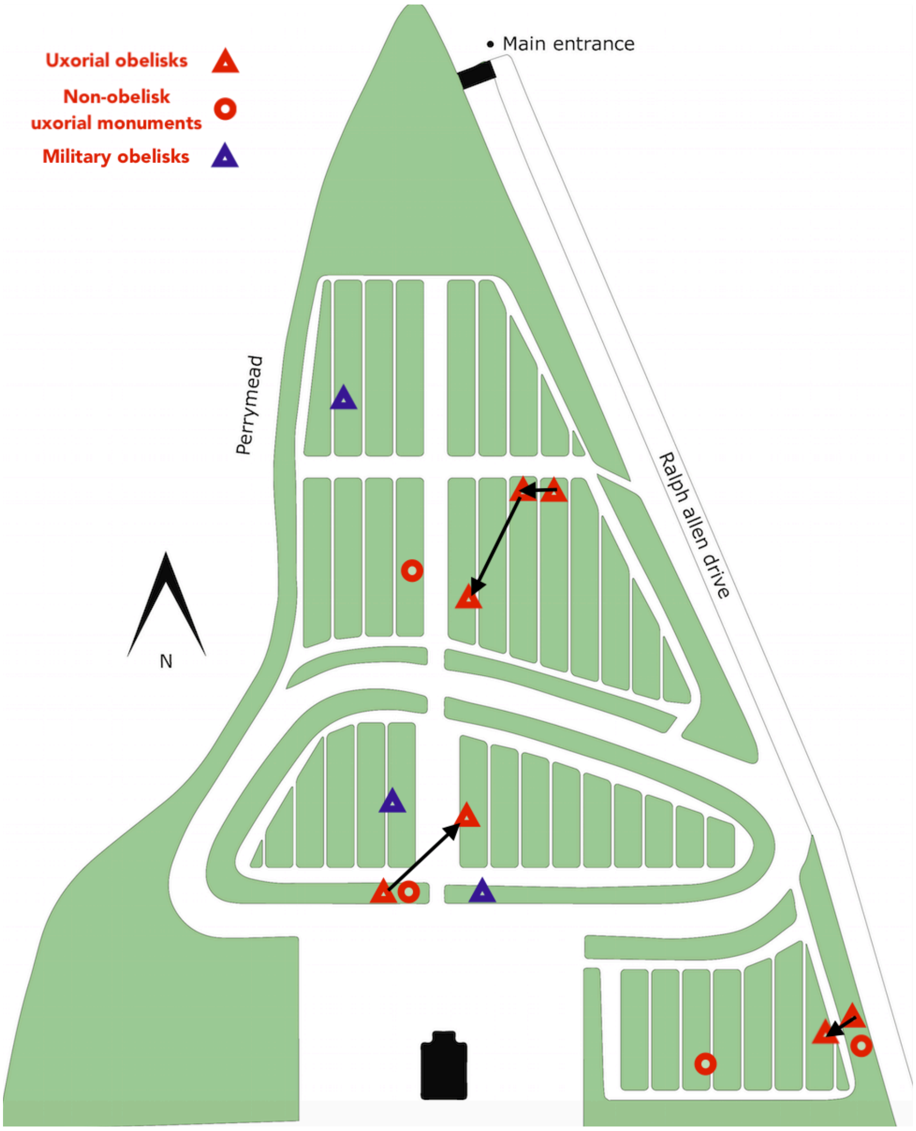


Figure 5.74 Map of Bath Abbey Cemetery showing sampled obelisks and uxorial monuments up to the end of the sample period. The arrows indicate the visibility of previously erected uxorial obelisks from the locations of subsequently erected examples. Illustration author's own, not to scale.

Buckham's (2005:151) study in York suggested that monument purchasers intentionally avoided choosing memorials identical to those immediately surrounding the grave, and she linked this to a desire to articulate the uniqueness of the deceased and the lost relationship. Tarlow (1999a:122) has echoed this, suggesting that the speed at which mourning costume changed during the 19th century might be explained not by the desire to conform to socially sanctioned modes of bereavement, but to differentiate oneself from others and control perception of the self. Both of these interpretations are premised on the increasing emphasis on individualism during this period, and the idea that, in order to "express the unique personality of the deceased and the special relationship between the deceased and the bereaved the memorial needed to distinguish itself from the mass of others" (ibid:132). The idea that widowers in Bath Abbey Cemetery were often choosing plots near monuments dedicated to similar losses, and that in addition they were often choosing the same form of monument appears to run contrary to this, and to hint at a desire for conformity, or unconcern for the pursuit of individualised commemorative material.

Cannon (2005:50) might argue, inverting his argument that women are intrinsically more attuned to the articulation of status, that these men were simply not as sensitive to the fashion for individualisation in commemoration and that, if they had had their wives with them, they would not have made such an error as to "choos[e] what was, to the best of their knowledge, current fashion" (ibid:50-51) based on what other clueless men had done. Such an argument would, however, be very unsympathetic to the individuals involved, and would fail to appreciate what Forbes (1927:113) called the 'sincerity' of commemorative material. Rather than seeing the choices of these bereaved individuals as either a desire to conform, or conversely as a failure to recognise the contemporary valuation of carefully managed non-conformity, it is perhaps more helpful to frame these practices as a means of reconfiguring the self and the relationship with the deceased post-loss. As Stroebe *et al* (1992:1205) argue, 19th-century bereavement was not centred on the cutting of ties with the deceased in the same way that 20th-century mourning has tended to be. Rather, the emphasis was on translating the prior, multi-layered relationship, comprising "actual, symbolic, internalised and imagined relatedness" (ibid:1209) into something which can survive despite the loss of the vibrant other. As Hallam *et al* (1999:3) note, the binary of "socially and biologically alive socially and biologically dead" is not as absolute as commonly supposed and, for the bereaved, the dead may remain in some sense present. Erecting a monument is one way of placing the dead and articulating a continuing relationship with them in their new form. This may facilitate ongoing contact, but it also offers the possibility of restricting the deceased's presence to a space beyond the everyday activity of the survivor; it should not be assumed that all relationships are unambivalently grieved (ibid:ch8).

Choosing a monument is therefore central to this project of perpetuating the affective ties between the living and the dead and thereby the sense of self that the relationship afforded and continues to afford. The choice of a plot near to a memorial evincing the possibility of such a project, and offering some sense of the form that it might take, is not, therefore, either surprising or an indication of the conformity or failed individualism of the monument erector. None of these monuments are *identical*; the detailing of the pedestals, the surface decoration, the size, and the materials of these monuments all indicate that thought has gone into making them distinct, but they refer visually and materially to each other, as if seeking the reassurance that they too are part of this group of spouses.

If this characterisation is useful in understanding the commemorative habits of widowers in this setting, it begs the question as to why the reciprocal relationship does not have an equivalent pattern of monument use, and why such patterns of use have not been identified elsewhere. None of the other samples, after all, indicate any specific monument usage in relation to uxorial commemoration. In relation to the first question, one factor may be that, whereas we can be confident that monuments commemorating wives were erected by widowers (when they survived), the opposite is not necessarily true. Widows, although often responsible for the commemoration of their husbands, would have been more likely than widowers to be led to relinquish control of commemorative decisions by adult children, or the siblings or parents of the deceased. The resulting monumental body would therefore not simply commemorate the spousal relationship in the same way that memorials erected by widowers for wives would be likely to; it would also often commemorate fathers, brothers, and sons. Seeing monuments dedicated to men who were survived by their wives as articulations of a single type of relationship is therefore probably less useful than when the genders are reversed.

As for why uxorial patterns of commemoration are not seen elsewhere, there is no clear answer. The use of obelisks in association with military families has also not been identified elsewhere in the form that it is found in the Bath Abbey sample. It is possible that the sample is anomalous; the Fisher's exact test tells us that this pattern of usage is *very unlikely* to happen by chance, not definitively that it *didn't* happen by chance. The above is merely a way of attempting to understand what it could mean if it were indeed the result of intentional and meaningful actions rather than random variation. It would be informative to compare the commemorative practices in this site with those in the other contemporary private Anglican cemetery in Bath, Lansdown Cemetery. It may be the case that, during this period of commemorative change, in which permanent memorials were possible for the first time for many people, and there were few precedents structuring the commemorative landscape of each site, localised practices were far more varied than has previously been thought, and different sites developed unique and uniquely significant forms of memorialising the dead.

Obelisks and Egyptianizing Architecture

The commemorative practices described above in Southampton and Bath Abbey Cemeteries suggest two broader observations. Firstly, obelisk and urn usage appear to be differentiated at both sites. In the Southampton example the boundary between these two forms was perhaps less pronounced as several of the obelisk monuments dedicated to mariners by their friends probably originally had urns on top, but in Bath Abbey the association between wives and obelisks and military commemoration and obelisks is markedly different from the use of urn monuments, which do not appear to be associated with any identifiable variables. This implies that regardless of the ambiguity of the boundary between Neoclassical and Egyptianizing architecture during this period and the uncertain position of obelisks in relation to this, the result was not a conflation of the significances and uses of urns and obelisks. Secondly, it was obelisks and not the Ecclesiologist-approved Gothic crosses that were used creatively in the pursuit of commemorative projects in both samples, as if Gothic crosses were too weighed down with their ascribed piety to take on further significance. The multivalence that obelisks seem to have had during this period suggests that they were somehow a less defined entity than other monument forms.

The position of Egyptianizing architecture as an independent category separate to Classical architecture is often unclear. Authors discussing obelisk use in cemeteries often differ as to what defines an obelisk as Egyptianizing as opposed to Classical as a result of their reuse in Roman contexts. This latter is what Humbert (1994:21) calls 'Neo-Egyptianizing': a style "that appropriates and adapts the forms of an earlier Egyptomania". Some authors use the presence of a pedestal or plinth to identify obelisks as Neo-Egyptianizing rather than Egyptianizing (Scott 2005b:46), while others rely on the presence of hieroglyphic-type designs or other Egyptianizing features, like battered walls or lotus or papyrus-type columns: the "use of selected Egyptian motifs on an obelisk could mark it out from more orthodox classical versions" (Brooks 1989:64). The extent to which such distinctions would have been discernible even to more informed cemetery visitors is doubtful; even contemporary guidebooks seemed uncertain as to the identification of different architectural styles. Justyne's (1865:33) *Guide to Highgate Cemetery* described the Gothic terrace catacombs at that site as being "built in the same bold heavy architecture, with the same ponderous iron doors and the same death-like grandeur" as the Egyptian catacombs that stood nearby.

Perhaps it is the ambiguity surrounding obelisks and Egyptianizing architecture more generally that afforded the possibility of such localised uses as those found in Bath Abbey and Southampton Old Cemeteries. Certainly, the use of Egyptianizing architecture in non-commemorative contexts during the 19th century suggests that the style might be adapted to a wide range of uses, especially in emerging fields of construction where few precedents constricted what might be considered architecturally appropriate. For example, in the design of Clifton Suspension Bridge in Bristol (designed 1831) (Curl 2005:273), and the Temple Mills in Leeds (completed 1843) (ibid:279).

In the early 19th century the use of Egyptianizing architecture had largely been an exercise in novelty and exoticism. The defeat of the French in the Battle of the Nile increased access to ancient Egyptian material and placed Egypt (both modern and ancient) in a more prominent position in contemporary British culture than had hitherto been the case. French designers in the late 18th century began publishing interior designs based on Egyptian material, and British designers were not far behind (Curl 2005:206, Harrison-Moore 2007). Egyptian door-knockers and sculpted sphinxes would occasionally appear in domestic architecture (Curl 2005:225), and stage designers were happy to use a novel style and enjoy the attention it grabbed (ibid:253). There was a playfulness to many of these designs that fitted Humbert's (1994:21) definition of Egyptianizing architecture as the re-casting of Egyptian forms by designers "in the cauldron of their own sensibility and in the context of their own times" so that they give them "an appearance of renewed vitality". Thomas Hope's Egyptian Room in Duchess Street (completed 1804) and the Egyptian Hall, in Piccadilly (completed 1812) both appear to revel in the novelty of the style and demonstrate little concern for the kind of accuracy that Ecclesiologists would soon demand of Gothic architecture.

Unlike the Gothic Revival, Egyptianizing architecture did not have any particular association with religious structures. There were some exceptions to this, usually in Nonconformist buildings, such as St Vincent's Free Church in Glasgow, which was designed for the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland by Alexander Thomson in the 1850s (Figure 5.75). Freemasons, however, embraced both Egyptianizing architecture and the imagined past within which they believed it to have originated (Curl 2005:203-231). Although the tendency to build in an Egyptian idiom was more pronounced amongst Continental Freemasons, the Freemasons' Hall in Boston, Lincolnshire (constructed 1860-63) is an English example (Curl 2007:207).

How far the association of Egypt with Freemasonry extended into the non-Freemason population is unclear, but Masonic lodges were influential bodies in certain towns and cities during the 19th century, presenting themselves as an important part of the community. Scott (2005a:100) notes that stone-setting ceremonies for new buildings or monuments in Glasgow were often undertaken a by a Master Mason, either the Grand Master, Provincial Master, of the Master of a local lodge. Freemasonry was popular in Glasgow in the first half of the century and lodges were central institutions for the upper classes, providing settings for socialising and the making of business contacts (Nenadic 1996:289; Trainor 1996:245). Many members of the city's elite were Freemasons, including several of those involved in the development and design of the Glasgow Necropolis (Scott 2005a:101), but this does not mean that the use of Egyptianizing architecture for the cemetery's vaults (Figure 4.5, Figure 5.76), even if it was influenced by the Masonic background of the architect who designed it (David Hamilton, 1768-1843), was necessarily interpreted as Masonic by the broader public.


Figure 5.75 St Vincent's Free Church designed by Alexander Thomson and constructed in 1859. To the right of the image, half way up the side of the building a doorway-type structure can be seen, which has battered (inwards leaning) sides modelled on part of an Egyptian pylon design. (Photograph: author, 2013.)


Figure 5.76 The Egyptian Vaults at the Glasgow Necropolis, designed by David Hamilton, who was a Freemason. (Photograph: author, 2013.)

Nor should the Masonic connection of the Egyptian Vaults at the Glasgow Necropolis be taken as an indication that all uses of Egyptianizing architecture in burial contexts was the work of Freemasons, or that Freemasons preferred to use obelisks as monuments. Perhaps the most well-known sign of Freemasonry is the square and compass, but this is found only on three monuments in the survey: one obelisk; one urn; and one flared cross pedestal monument (see Figure 5.77, Figure 5.78, and Figure 5.79). Without searching lodge records for all of the hundreds of men responsible for erecting monuments in this study, it is not possible to be definitive in stating that obelisks were used preferentially by Freemasons but, given the already-demonstrated plurality of meanings associated with obelisks, it seems unlikely that the masonic connection defined the significance of these monuments for most people.

Figure 5.77 Monument 0044 (Kensal Green consecrated section) dedicated to John Vauxhall, who died in 1867. (Photograph: author, 2012.)

Figure 5.78 Monument 0362 (Kensal Green consecrated section) dedicated to Elizabeth Sewell, who died in 1841. The fallen urn is visible to the right of the image and a rule and compass is carved into the base of the monument. (Photograph: author 2013.)

Figure 5.79 Monument 3160 (Glasgow Necropolis) dedicated by Agnes Clark to William Dick, died 1860. A stylised square and compass is shown in the centre of the cross. (Photograph: author, 2013.)

An even more persistent trope in the interpretation of obelisks, and Egyptianizing architecture more generally, is that these forms articulated Death in some essential way. This rhetoric was present in the 19th century and remains discernible today. Justyne (1865:33) said of the Egyptian Catacombs at Highgate

Cemetery: “the solemn association of the architectural style in which they are built renders it singularly appropriate”, and Curl (2007:204) echoes this by rationalising that “so much Egyptian material [was] associated with death”. Certainly, for a brief period in the late 1830s, when the architectural idiom of cemetery buildings was going through a period of pronounced heterogeneity several designers apparently agreed that an Egyptianizing style was “particularly appropriate for the architecture of death” (Brooks 2001:217). Sharrow Vale Cemetery in Sheffield, which opened in 1836, had an Egyptianizing gateway, complete with winged sun-disk, and the windows of its Nonconformist chapel had battered sides reminiscent of Egyptianizing designs. The designers of the civic-run interdenominational Bartholomew Street cemetery in Exeter chose an Egyptianizing entrance and catacombs in 1837 (it had no chapel). Highgate Cemetery, with its Egyptian Catacombs, and Abney Park, with its Egyptianizing gates and lodges, followed in 1839 and 1840 respectively.

However, the attribution of this to the essentialist idea that Egyptian (material) culture and Egyptianizing architecture signified death in some kind of pan-historic sense, regardless of religious or historical context, is not particularly helpful in attempting to unpick the multiple ways in which commemorative and mortuary architecture was meaningful for its users. Humbert (1994:25) describes this architecture as a “symbol of death as well as of eternal life… military power, cruelty, and despotism… the sweetness of life, of beauty and love … true exoticism”, and Rice and MacDonald (2003:4) attribute the recurrent usage of these forms to their status as Jungian archetypes. Like the attribution of the elaboration and forms of memorial architecture during this period to the single-minded pursuit of status, these approaches fail to treat the actions of past people as ‘sincere’, reducing them to the inevitable consequences of whatever predetermined structure of significance or motivation is posited. Furthermore, reading Egyptianizing architecture in this way, as an intuitively correct form for mortuary structures, is to overlook the considerable objections to this by groups like the Ecclesiologists and individual architects and critics like Pugin (see Figure 3.7).

The policing of stylistic boundaries is not a profitable exercise. Even amongst 20th-century scholars tasked with elucidating the points of historic and architectural reference of monuments like obelisks there is little agreement as to whether and when they should be considered Egyptianizing or Classical. It is telling that in the 1930s the Anatomy Building at University College London was considered an Egyptianizing building but that, when Stephen Quirke (currently Edwards Professor of Egyptian Archaeology and Philology at University College London) looked at it in the early 2000s, he declared it "the most Egyptian-free building I have ever seen" (Humbert and Price 2003:16). Furthermore, there is no evidence that in the 19th century there was either greater clarity regarding the boundaries of the style, or consensus regarding the appropriateness of its use in mortuary contexts. Given this level of uncertainty and disagreement, it is perhaps better to put these possible associations and meanings to one side and look, as we have done in Bath Abbey Cemetery and Southampton Cemetery, at the ways in which formal variation might be used as part of practices that are meaningful within specific commemorative landscapes and communities.

Chapter 6 Constructing religious identity: Nonconformists and Anglicans together and apart.

Having just argued that applying a wide-scale set of significances to monument forms is unwise given the ambiguous boundaries of stylistic groupings and the contrasting interpretations that are made of these by different groups, this chapter compares religious variation with the use of crosses and urns in commemoration. Mytum (2002a) found in his comparison of 19th and 20th-century Anglican and Nonconformist burial grounds in Pembrokeshire that the presence of tall pedestal monuments, especially urns, obelisks, and broken columns was tantamount to a diagnostic feature of Nonconformist spaces, while Anglicans tended to use more crosses. This binary relationship of Nonconformist/Classical : Anglican/Gothic Revival is also suggested by the association of the Ecclesiologists with High Church architecture, and by the architectural styles of Anglican and Nonconformist places of worship in the first half of the 19th century. Its relevance to commemorative practice, however, has not been examined in terms of how such factors might have affected the ways in which commemoration was undertaken in widely differing settings.

This chapter introduces two further sites that provide points of comparison with Bath Abbey Cemetery and Southampton Cemetery: Kensal Green Cemetery and Key Hill Cemetery. Can the binary element in commemorative practice described above be discerned in all four sites? And what do differences between the sites in terms of the uses of these monument forms suggest about the relationship between the structure of the commemorative landscape and the articulation of religious identity through the memorial body? Were Anglicans and Nonconformists sharing a single divided site more or less likely than their co-religionists in single-use sites to choose monument forms that differentiated themselves from the denominational other? In exploring these questions, a somewhat larger issue is kept in mind: through what processes do the discourses of architectural critics, theologians, and church and chapel builders become relevant to the individuals actually practicing commemoration?

Gothic and Classical Architecture in the 19th Century

Before introducing the two new sites and analysing the samples taken there, it is worth considering the architectural and religious contexts of the styles to which monument types in question belong: Gothic Revival and Classical architecture.

Gothic Architecture: The Reformation to 1800

Original medieval Gothic architecture never disappeared from the religious landscape of Britain, as numerous medieval Gothic parish churches and cathedrals were still in use. The relationship between Gothic architecture and state religion was, therefore, somewhat ambivalent (Curl 2007:15). The style was both a remnant of a Catholic past from which the Church and state had turned away, and also a familiar part of living religious practice and continuity.

Through the 17th and 18th centuries Gothic and sham-Gothic architecture was used in a variety of ways. Some of the most imaginative examples were the *fabriques* and follies that dotted the new landscaped parks of the 18th century, alluding to an imagined Arthurian past. Gothic architecture became a mutable category that “could acquire new meanings, and could be employed for sundry reasons, whilst always retaining something of its allusions to mediaeval and earlier pasts” (ibid:33).

With the emergence of Romantic sensibilities, Gothic architecture underwent a further reimagining, becoming associated with the ‘sublime’ and ancient ruined landscapes, and, through the activities of Horace Walpole, it became the architectural counterpart to the Gothic novel (ibid:35). Walpole’s patchwork-Gothic house at Strawberry Hill and his 1765 novel, *Castle of Otranto: A Gothic Story*, presented two different sides of the same Gothic whole (ibid:39). It is no coincidence that William Beckford, the novelist who was buried initially in Bath Abbey Cemetery and then moved to Lansdown Cemetery, was famous for (amongst other things) his Gothic novel *Vathek,* and his commissioning of a Gothic house (Fonthill Abbey) with a tower so unfeasibly sublime (with its soaring internal spans and improbable height) that it collapsed. He was not alone in wishing to engage with and recreate the Gothic past, especially after the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars rendered anything apparently patriotic significantly more appealing. These events also had the effect keeping young architects at home due to the difficulty of going on a Grand Tour, meaning that they were more likely to study English Gothic material. Consequently, this period also saw the first serious attempts at recording the Gothic fabric of Britain (ibid:44, 48-9).

Religion and Gothic Architecture

Coming full circle, Gothic Revival architecture was sufficiently shorn of its Papist associations by the second decade of the 19th century that it became, once more, the architectural style of choice for (Anglican) church building. The Commissioners' churches erected after the 1818 *Act for Promoting the Building of Additional Churches in Populous Parishes* were predominantly Gothic (Lewis 2002:49). However, over the following decades, with the emergence of the Oxford Movement (Tractarians) and the Cambridge Camden Society (Ecclesiologists), Gothic architecture became the focal point in heated and sometimes obscure debates regarding the moral and theological weight of architecture.

Considering Tractarianism first, during the late 1820s and early 1830s a series of events combined to create the impression in some quarters that the Anglican Church was under threat and that a long process of destruction that had started with the Reformation was accelerating. Central to this impression was the emancipation of Nonconformists and Catholics in the 1820s and the passing of the *Church Temporalities (Ireland) Act* in 1833, which reduced the scale and power of the Anglican Church in Ireland. Tractarians saw a return to ancient practices, and a revival of "the sacred, sacramental rites" (Lewis 2002:86) as a way of reinforcing the Anglican Church. The Church had to move backwards in order to move forwards.

Although the paramount concern of Tractarianism was the wellbeing of the Church of England, their belief that a return to ancient principles was the best way to achieve this meant that their opinions sounded (to some members of the established Church) worryingly like a call for a return to Catholicism. Low church Anglican Evangelicals were wont to call Tractarians "Crypto-Papists" (Curl 2007:57). This suspicion persisted into the 1840s, fuelled by controversial articles in the Tractarians' periodical and the conversion to Catholicism of a handful of high-profile individuals, including John Henry (Cardinal) Newman (1801-1890) (Brandwood 2000:73).

The relevance of these events to the contemporary associations of Gothic architecture lies in the relationship between the Tractarian movement and the Cambridge Camden Society (Ecclesiologists). The Cambridge Camden Society originated in about 1836 and, like the Tractarians, its members' interests lay in the reinvigoration of the Anglican Church. Their focus was not on the revival of pre-Reformation theology (the organisation was nominally without a theological stance) but on the revival of architectural form and liturgy (Curl 2007:58). When Cardinal Newman's piece on the Thirty-Nine Articles attracted opprobrium, and he converted in 1845, it was difficult for the Cambridge Camden Society to avoid being tarred with the same Papist brush as the Tractarians. It was seen as a slippery slope from scholarly architectural revival, to ritual revival, to theological revival, to Catholicism. In 1845, in a canny piece of re-branding, the Cambridge Camden Society renamed itself the Ecclesiological Society (Lewis 2002:86).

The society's periodical, *The Ecclesiologist,* became highly influential in the field of religious architecture and design in the 1840s, providing examples of Gothic originals for use in the construction or reconstruction of churches and offering an authoritative voice on the architectural history of the established Church at a time when Anglicans were rediscovering their history. *The Ecclesiologist'*s influence on church architecture was "astounding" (Curl 2007:116), inspiring the publication of related tracts. The journal also included stern guidance on Christian burial markers and cemetery design.

Ecclesiological approval of Gothic architecture was matched by a strong distaste for Classical designs and so they specifically rejected what they termed 'heathen' styles (Rugg 1999:226), asking, what could be "in worse taste than the *broken pagan pillar* erected… to the memory of Grace Darling?" (Morley 1971:57, quoting *The Ecclesiologist,* Jan 1845, italics in the original). Bearing in mind the influence the magazine wielded on architects of religious buildings, one wonders to what extent those erecting monuments also heeded its advice and rejected heathen designs. If they did not, then this disjuncture between different levels of religious practice deserves consideration.

Pugin and Ruskin

Two of the other significant influences on the development of Gothic architecture in the 19th century were A.W.N. Pugin (1912-1852) and John Ruskin (1819-1900). Whereas Ecclesiologists were concerned with the revival of Gothic architecture in religious structures, Pugin argued for its use in both secular and religious contexts. His 1836 illustrated volume *Contrasts* powerfully demonstrated Pugin's belief that architecture was a question as much of morality as of aesthetics, was "a shocking indictment of Industrial Revolution England whose physical repulsiveness was claimed to be of a piece with its moral degradation" (Lewis 2002:85). This applied as much to secular as to religious architecture.

In 1841 Pugin published *The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture*, which Lewis describes as "easily one of the most influential architectural books of all time" (ibid:86). In this volume he argued, amongst other things, that buildings should only consist of elements "necessary for convenience, construction, or propriety" (quoted in Curl 2007:92), and that ornamentation should only ever be an elaboration of the construction of the building and its materials. These principles were best met, he judged, by Gothic architecture. Unsurprisingly, he concurred with the Ecclesiologists in their rejection of Classical funerary architecture, and in 1843 he weighed in with biting satire in his *Apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture* (ibid:205).

Pugin, however, was a Catholic. He had converted in 1835 and even the Ecclesiologists did not want him as a member, instead "plagiaris[ing] his ideas while publicly berating him" (O'Donnell 2000:99). His views, although influential, did little to rehabilitate the crypto-Catholic overtones of Gothic architecture. Ruskin, on the other hand, was a solid Evangelical Protestant, and whereas Pugin's appreciation of Gothic architecture and the high moral value he placed upon it was driven to a great extent by its Catholic roots, Ruskin's love of the style was very much in spite of its associations. Like Pugin he based his aesthetic judgements on a set of moral principles, which he laid out in his influential volume *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*, published in 1849.

Ruskin attempted to dissociate Gothic architecture from the religion of its creators, a move that had the potential to drastically widen its appeal. His conviction that "architecture should move us with the force and immediacy of a lyric poem" (Brooks 1980:26) appealed to Evangelicals and Romantics who had little sympathy for Pugin's theology. Again in contrast to Pugin, Ruskin's interest in Gothic design, and the influence that he had on its popularity, was not centred on the structure of buildings as much as on their decoration, the 'reality' of the materials, and on the belief that "an Evangelical faith [could] be expressed in visual splendour" (ibid:45). The two men influenced the Gothic Revival in complementary ways: "Pugin has most influenced us in structure, Ruskin in ornament" (*The Builder* 1867, quoted in Dishon 2000:190).

Secular Gothic

Despite Ruskin's efforts to efface the Catholic connotations of Gothic designs, its use outside the religious sphere continued to be controversial through the middle of the 19th century. Despite the fact that the Houses of Parliament were rebuilt in Gothic splendour in the 1830s, Brooks (1980:19) argues that in the 1840s it was still the case that "when a building was to be proud, confident, and massive, a classical style was chosen", namely Greek, Roman or Italian Renaissance. The persistent preference against Gothic architecture in some (important) quarters is demonstrated by the 1850-60s debacle over the construction of the Government Offices in London. The competition for the design of new premises for various governmental departments became so mired in stylistic factionalism and political in-fighting that the process of choosing a design and beginning construction lasted a decade and three different governments (Brownlee 1985). Despite the fact that Gothic designs by George Gilbert Scott eventually won the prize, the buildings which resulted were in fact Italian Renaissance (ibid:177), an indication of the fact that Gothic was still felt by many to be the preserve of religious architecture.

Nonconformist Gothic

It might well be expected that low-church nonconformist groups would be loath to adopt Gothic architecture, given its Catholic roots. Stell (2000:319) argues that, for many nonconformist groups in the 1840s, concern for acoustics, seating and light tended to take priority over the design of the facade, especially when the allocation of limited funds was in question (see also Friedman 2011:493). In the late 18th century and early 19th century nonconformist chapels were generally Classical, but given the heterogeneous character of the nonconformist community it is not surprising that there were occasional Gothic exceptions (Stell 2000:318), and as the century progressed the engagement of dissenter congregations with Gothic architecture increased. Curl (2007:144) argues that Ruskin's recasting of Gothic architecture allowed its adoption by nonconformists. Describing Gothic as the last word in architectural "truthfulness, honesty of expression, structural purity, and reality appealed to Nonconformists too". This architectural neutrality achieved, Curl (ibid:142) sees Nonconformists as being eager to replace their "modest late-Georgian or Classical pedimented" chapels with 'churches' that "aped the fashionable Gothic of the Anglicans". He attributes this aping to the improving position of Nonconformists, making it sound as if every congregation abandoned its separatist architectural traditions as soon as its members found that they were able to stand on the same social, economic and legal footing as Anglicans, reducing the choice of style to a question of social climbing (ibid:142).

The examples Curl (ibid) uses, however, are mostly Unitarian, which was a particularly unrepresentative group, even within the overall variety of nonconformist denominations. Unitarianism was punishable under the Blasphemy Act until 1813, but the denomination had flourished despite this, often converting Trinitarian Nonconformist congregations into Unitarian ones (the Old Meeting House in Birmingham is an example of this trajectory, as the congregation shifted from Presbyterianism to Unitarianism). The group faced legal discrimination and, although it owned some of its own chapels, during the early decades of the 19th century it faced challenges from a Trust that had supported numerous of its ministers. The dispute focused on the ownership of a number of chapels and became a legal battle in the 1840s (Stell 2000:323). The

Unitarians lost the case, but the 1844 Dissenters' Chapels Act was subsequently passed, offering better protection for the denomination. The result was that Unitarian denominations constructed a series of chapels in the 1840s, at a time when, after over 50 years of discrimination, they finally enjoyed parity with other Nonconformist denominations, and legal recognition. Several of these chapels were Gothic in design, and Stell reads this not as an expression of their rising socio-economic profile, as Curl (2007:142) does, but as a "positive assertion of religious equality" (Stell 2000:323). This was an expression of the triumph of religious conscience and a celebration of the fact that they were no longer at the mercy of Trinitarian denominations. It was not an act of empty imitation, but a statement of religious identity and equality.

Certainly, Unitarians were not the only Nonconformists to gain and architecturally assert religious equality in the early 19th century. The repeal of the Test and Corporation Act in 1828, and the generally improving political and social position of Nonconformists meant that many groups became more willing in the following decades to make their presence known in the architectural landscape, building spires and on occasion using Gothic designs (Stell ibid:318). It was not the case, however, that "Dissenters succumbed to Gothic fashion" (Curl 2007:143). The Wesleyan Methodists, who were most closely tied to the Anglican Church (Stell 2000:326), were unsurprisingly the most forward in engaging with trends in the established Church, and in 1850 a Wesleyan minister called Jobson published *Chapel and School Architecture*, which endorsed the use of Gothic architecture (ibid:326). The Baptists vehemently disagreed, as a review of the book in *The Baptist* magazine in the same year demonstrates: "a Gothic edifice cannot be … an outward and visible sign of that simplicity which ought to characterise religious services under the Christian dispensation" (ibid:321). Baptists persisted in preferring Classical chapels and, contrary to Curl's description of succumbing, Stell (ibid:327) notes that many Methodist groups, as well as Baptist ones, continued to use Classical designs throughout the 19th century, partly because they "seem to have felt more secure in chapels of that kind" and possibly because "it had become something of a hallmark for them".

Uptake of Gothic designs was specific to different denominations and the particular congregations within them, but was definitely not universal. The *Catholic* Apostolic Church, with its slightly psychedelic High Church tendencies, favoured Gothic and even asked Pugin to design their main church in Albury, Surrey (completed 1840) (ibid:325). Congregationalists, on the other hand, tended to be wary of both Classical and Gothic architecture on account of their associations but shifted, on the whole, from the former to the latter as the century wore on (ibid:322). Stell (ibid:319) points out that there are exceptions to all these generalisations, as the nonconformist nature of Nonconformist groups meant that heterogeneity persisted in architecture as much as in religious practice. They did not succumb wholesale to the mainstream blandishments of Gothic architecture.

Classical architecture

By the middle of the 19th century, then, "the Gothic Revival was triumphant" (Curl 2007:178), at least in certain contexts. It was both part of the long-standing fabric of the established Church, and was becoming ubiquitous in its new constructions. In certain Nonconformist denominations it was being used in place of Classical or plain Georgian designs. Domestic architecture was not beyond Gothic influence either, although it was not used to the exclusion of Classical and other historicising styles (such as Jacobethan). Nor was it, as the Government Offices debate demonstrated, an uncontroversial choice for civic buildings. The Classical past had been a significant influence on architecture in the 18th century, and Classical architecture constituted, in various forms, a great deal of the architectural fabric of the capital and growing industrial cities, as well as many country estates. The advent of the Gothic Revival was not about to erase this. Nor was the likelihood of this happening reckoned to be great: in 1851 the eminent architect Cockerell (who despite being a Classical man was not against Scott's Gothic designs for the Government Offices [Brownlee 1985:176]) was still able to assert that Gothic architecture was a fad that would die out (Brooks 1980:21).

Classical Civic architecture

There seems to be a strong sense amongst architectural historians that an association existed in this period between Classical architecture and civic pride (Brooks 1980:19, Brooks 1989:9, Curl 2007:168, Rugg 1998:52). There remained, despite the apparent seal of approval given to the style in the form of the Houses of Parliament, a sentiment in some quarters that Gothic architecture was unsuitable for buildings intended to be 'proud' rather than pious (Brooks 1980:19). The validity of this claim is supported by the observation that through the middle of the century many new civic buildings were Classical. The pro-Classical/anti-Gothic sentiments of Palmerston (the primary antagonist to Scott's Gothic Government Offices all through the 1850s and 1860s) seem to have found some resonance in the civic authorities of other cities. Even in the late 1860s, the Gothic design of Manchester Town Hall was an exception, suggesting that, despite the growing popularity of Gothic designs, Classical architecture remained associated with governmental and civic purposes during the middle of the century.

Classical Churches

A significant number of Anglican Churches built in the 18th century were also Classical structures (Friedman 2011:355,495) and a large minority of the churches resulting from the 1818 Church Building Act were also Classical (Curl 2007:51). The Ecclesiologists may have railed against these churches (they railed against more or less all 18th century architecture), but just as Medieval Gothic churches had survived and through their survival become part of post-Reformation Protestant practice, so too did Palladian churches. Denouncing Classical architecture as pagan did not make it any less part of the religious life of those who worshipped in an 18th-century Classical parish church. There was also, as noted above, a preference amongst dissenter groups, especially Methodists and Baptists, for Classical chapels (Stell 2000:327). However, as Ecclesiological arguments regarding church design became more mainstream in the 1840s, Classical architecture became, in the most part, the preserve of secular design and the religious fringe.

The Sites

The associations and uses of Classical and Gothic architecture outside of commemorative contexts was, then, varied, multivalent, and contentious. If the frequency with which monuments in these two styles were used by Anglicans and Nonconformists differed consistently across multiple sites, it would suggest a degree of agreement regarding the valuation of these styles that was not demonstrated in any other context of use. Both Anglicans and Nonconformists were heterogeneous groups, not only because of the influence of Ecclesiology and Evangelicalism within the established Church, and the multi-denominational character of Nonconformity, but also because members of these groups also defined themselves through other aspects of their lives, not just their religion. Any large-scale differentiation in the commemorative practices of these groups in relation to these architectural styles should therefore be treated as a phenomenon requiring investigation and not as an inevitable consequence of some essential difference between Anglicans and Nonconformists.

The two sites introduced here were selected as counterparts to Bath Abbey Cemetery and Southampton Old Cemeteries. Kensal Green, like Southampton, is an interdenominational site, providing space for both groups, while Key Hill, like Bath Abbey, served only one, leaving members of the other to use pre-existing and inferior facilities.

Kensal Green Cemetery

Kensal Green was founded over a decade earlier than Southampton Cemetery, on a far larger and more expensive scale, with contrasting architectural reference points in the forms of the chapels and lodge, and a much more segregated religious landscape. Perhaps the most important factor in influencing these differences were the distinct aims of those responsible for the sites. Rugg (1998a:45) emphasises that the organisation of a cemetery as a joint-stock business did not mean that profit was the primary motivation, but in the case of Kensal Green, profit-making was a stated aim from the earliest days of its conception in the 1820s (Richardson and Curl 2001:23). Given that the 1832 Anatomy Act passed only a year before the site opened, the Cemetery Committee was also, unsurprisingly, interested in providing a secure facility for those who could afford it. The Committee was not primarily concerned with relieving pressure on overfull burial grounds, as was the case in Southampton, and although the Cemetery Company provided space for Nonconformists, inclusivity was not a watchword for the Committee.

One of the Committee's central concerns, aside from profit, was the creation of a uniquely attractive burial environment. This was a distinctly experimental enterprise, as only a handful of other commercial cemeteries existed at the time, all of which were on a much smaller scale than Kensal Green, and none of which had the kind of landscaped grounds that the Committee envisaged for their site. The cemetery's layout, using elements of English landscape design and aspiring toward the Parisian model of Père-Lachaise was more like the contemporary Regent's Park than any burial ground then existing in the country. The first monument erectors at Kensal Green would never have encountered a commemorative context like it, and the cemetery's *laissez-faire* policy regarding monument erection meant plot purchasers were free to explore the possibilities of permanent commemoration (Brooks 2001:212). The resulting commemorative landscape is consequently the most elaborate and varied in this study.

Religious topography

When it was consecrated in January 1833, the walls of the cemetery enclosed 42 acres. The land within had not yet been laid out, however, and the Anglican chapel was a temporary stopgap thanks to infighting within the Cemetery Committee. There was no Nonconformist chapel at all at this point nor any space allocated to unconsecrated burial. The Grand Union Canal borders the south side of the cemetery and the Committee had been planning to use land on the other side of the water to create a separate Nonconformist burial area, but access across the canal proved problematic, so in February 1833, after the consecrated section had already been blessed by the Bishop of London, the Cemetery Committee purchased a parcel of land at the eastern end of the site (Figure 6.1). This land had belonged to a neighbouring public house (Curl 2001:84), and unlike in Southampton Cemetery, where the distinction between the consecrated and unconsecrated grounds was effectively unmarked and followed boundaries created by paths, the arrangement of the unconsecrated ground at Kensal Green made the distinction between the sections emphatic. The space was divided off from the consecrated ground by an iron railing, and bushes were planted to provide a screen between the two areas (ibid:84). Furthermore, the boundary between the consecrated and unconsecrated sections transected the orientation of the cemetery, disrupting the flow of the central axial path and restricting movement between the sections to a single gap in the iron fence. The size of the unconsecrated section, along with its late addition, suggests that Nonconformists customers were considered not only as an afterthought, but possibly also as of secondary importance in comparison to the Anglican clientele.

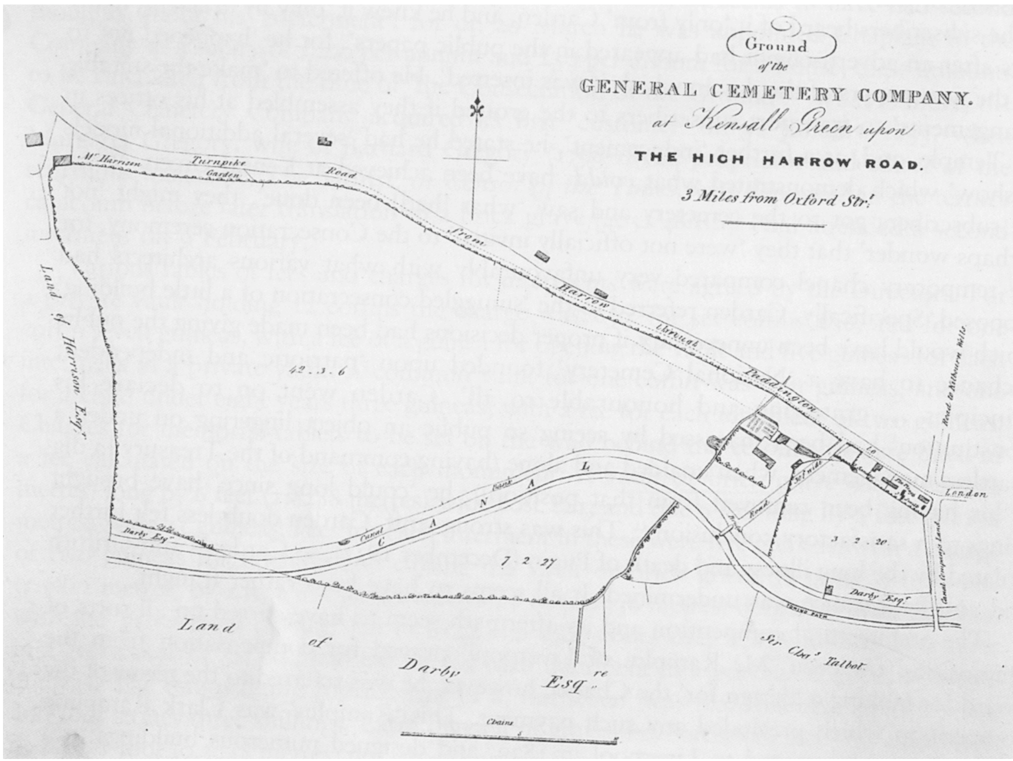


Figure 6.1 "Ground of the General Cemetery Company at Kensall [*sic*] Green upon the High Harrow Road", 1832, showing the main body of the cemetery north of the canal, the unused area to the south of the canal, and what was to become the Nonconformist area of the cemetery at the eastern end of the site (courtesy of the General Cemetery Company, reproduced in Curl 2001:84).

Architecture and Scale

Again in contrast to Southampton Cemetery, the architectural idiom of the cemetery was Classical. The infighting that stymied the construction of the Anglican chapel until after the cemetery had already opened was mostly related to power struggles between committee members, but one consequence was that the Gothic design for the Anglican Chapel that had won the architectural competition was rejected by the Committee in favour of a Greek Revival one. This was partly because the latter design was the work of John Griffith (1796-1888), who was a member of the Committee and was indispensible because of his role in the construction of the site. It was also partly because the Committee did not think that Gothic architecture was the most appropriate style for their anticipated customers (Curl 2001:72). By the end of the 1830s all of the cemetery buildings, including two chapels, a set of separate catacombs, and an imposing entrance lodge, were complete, and formed an aesthetically consistent assemblage rooted in the Greek Revival.

The cost of these buildings and the laying out of the site was far more expensive than at Southampton Cemetery. This was partly a question of scale and nearly two miles of roads were dug within the site (ibid:87). It was also a question of grandeur. When construction of the Anglican Chapel was finally tendered, the estimated cost was £14,201/4/3 (ibid:98). In the run-up to the opening of the cemetery and in its first years of operation, the high costs of establishing the site kept the company in an almost perpetual state of financial crisis, and the success of the enterprise was far from assured.

In Southampton the Cemetery Committee could be confident that the 'clientele' would come, given that by the 1840s cemeteries were an established concept, and the alternatives available in the town were so crowded. Kensal Green, on the other hand, was a new concept for Londoners and, in 1834 the Directors were frank that they needed several "persons of distinction" to be buried there to encourage the use of the site by those classes of people who could afford to purchase space in perpetuity (ibid:93). The company did offer common interment for £1/5/-, but this was considerably more costly than elsewhere, for example at Southampton Cemetery the most expensive common interment was 15s (ibid:82, and SCRF 1852). In practice the majority of burials at Kensal Green were in private plots, which cost between three guineas and £21 (ibid:82) and, by the middle of the 1840s the site's popularity with middle and upper classes had been secured, thanks in part to the burial of Augustus Frederick, Duke of Sussex there in 1843. Extensive accounts of the funeral were offered in guides to the site (Blanchard 1843, Clark 1843), and it seems clear that it was firmly established by this time as what Rugg (1998a:49) calls an 'exceptional' cemetery.

Laying Out the Cemetery

Also in contrast to the Southampton Cemetery, much of the flora at Kensal Green was new planting rather than a legacy of the site's previous incarnation. Before becoming a cemetery most of the parcel of land had been a farm, which although containing some woodland, was mostly stripped of its existing vegetation and reorganised through drainage, culverting, the construction of paths, and an extensive planting programme (Freed 2001:301-2). The site was therefore quite bare when it first opened, leading the *Morning Chronicle* to report, upon the site's consecration, that many years would be required for its trees and shrubs to grow sufficiently to permit a favourable comparison of the cemetery to continental equivalents (meaning Père-Lachaise) (Curl 2001:80). The gently undulating topography of the site was organised around a combination of formal elements and the curving paths, a mixture similar to that found in Regent's Park (Elliott 2001:285). The planting intended to compliment this structure included an avenue of cedars along the central avenue, but these did not thrive (Curl 2001:103,111) and even a decade after it first opened, Kensal Green mostly looked like a big lawn with a few monuments and shrubs dotted about. This is radically different from the cemetery landscape a visitor sees today, in which both monuments and vegetation mostly obscure views across the site. Compare, for example, Figure 6.2 and Figure 6.3. The landscape very rapidly 'filled up', however, as monuments thronged the main paths and as Figure 4.16 indicates, grave numbers and burial numbers grew at roughly the same rate during the cemetery's first decade of operation, meaning that most burials resulted in the erection of a new monument.

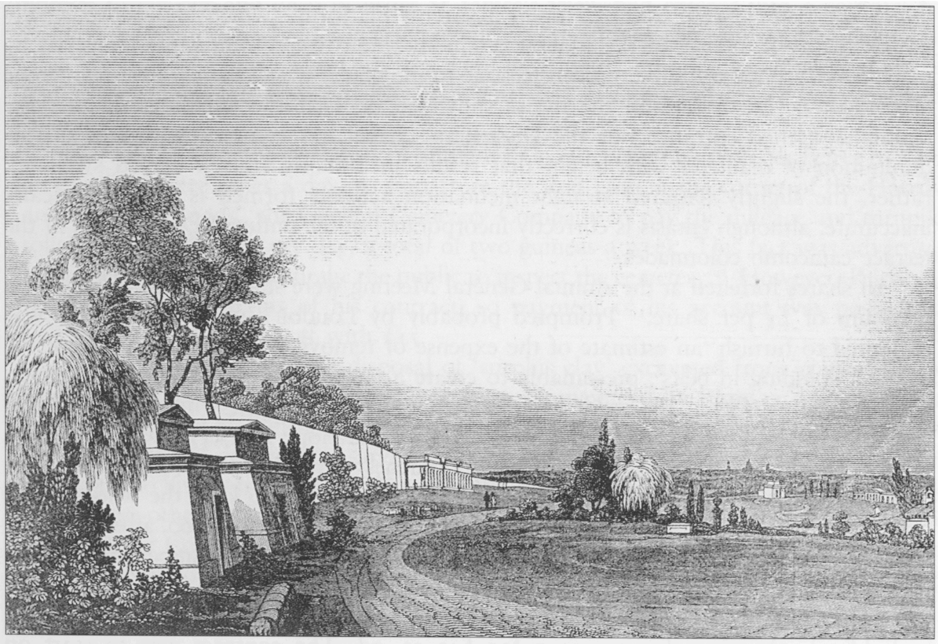


Figure 6.2 View east along the north wall of Kensal Green, towards the terrace catacombs and beyond (*The Penny Magazine*, 2 August 1834, reproduced in Curl 2001:93).

Figure 6.3 View west along the north wall of Kensal Green Cemetery from beside the terrace catacombs, note the dense vegetation in the middle distance. (Photograph: author, 2013.)

By the time of the Duke of Sussex's burial, then, the landscape of the cemetery was still in the early stages of developing, both in terms of the monumental body and the planting. As well as continuing to change in these ways, it also gained another a set of 'Monumental Chambers' in the 1840s. These were added to the back of the Anglican chapel and contained memorials dedicated to individuals buried in the catacombs beneath the chapel (Curl 2001:116-119). The Chambers were damaged in the Second World War, and were subsequently removed. The other significant change that the cemetery underwent after the early 1840s was the addition of 50 acres of land from the neighbouring Fillingham estate in 1853, 30 acres of which was sold to the Roman Catholic community later in the 1850s (ibid:131, 139, see Figure 6.4). The extra parcel of land was not used for commemoration until after the end of the surveyed period, however, meaning that all surveyed monuments fall within the boundaries of the original 42 acre site.

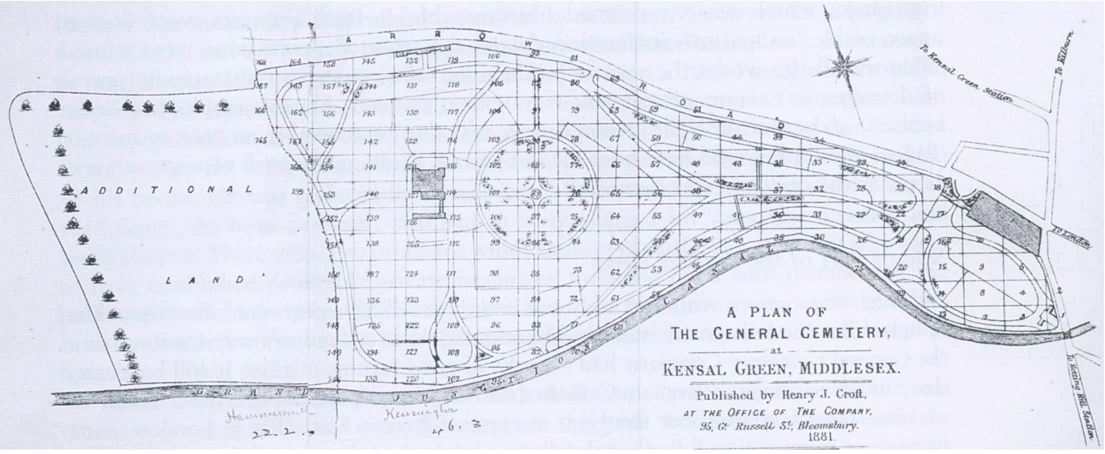


Figure 6.4 *A Plan of the General Cemetery at Kensal Green, Middlesex,* published by Henry J Croft at the office of the company, 95 Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury (courtesy of the General Cemetery Company, reproduced in Curl 2001:140).

Beyond the walls of the cemetery, further changes came in the form of the construction of two train lines close to the boundary of the site in the late 1830s, and the construction of the Western Gas Company's giant gasholders in 1845 (Freed 2001:302-3). Both of these compromised the pastoral atmosphere of the site, but as the cemetery's plantings matured their impact was lessened to the point that today Kensal Green Cemetery appears as an oasis of rural green.

The cemetery is also, however, very full of monuments. This was already the case by the late 19th century, when Mrs Basil Holmes described the site (1896). It should be noted that Mrs Holmes belonged to a group of late 19th-century reformers who wished to see far less ostentation in commemoration and was therefore decidedly against the concept of large and expensive funerals and monuments, declaring them a waste of money and a burden on the deceased's relatives. Her (1896:256) assessment of the memorial body at Kensal Green was therefore never likely to be sympathetic and is markedly polemical, but her observation that there were "oceans of tombstones, good, bad, and indifferent" is likely valid, given the number of grave numbers that had already been allocated by 1870 (Figure 4.16).

Birmingham Key Hill Cemetery

Nonconformity in Birmingham

Whereas Kensal Green was founded with the intention of turning a profit and providing safe burial space for the affluent, the development of Key Hill Cemetery was bound up with the improving status of Birmingham's Nonconformist community. Like Bath Abbey Cemetery, it was the first cemetery established in its town but, unlike the former, it did not provide one more amenity for an already privileged group. Rather, it represented a step towards self-determination for a section of society that had faced, until recently, legislative discrimination.

There had been at least one Nonconformist burial site in Birmingham since 1689 when the Old Meeting House was established, which housed a Presbyterian (and subsequently Unitarian) congregation that acted as the "parent church" of Nonconformity in Birmingham (Hutton Beale 1882:29). Congregations of various denominations seceded from the Old Meeting House and formed new chapels, for example the Calvinist Carrs Lane Chapel which was established in 1747 (ibid:29). The Old Meeting House was rebuilt repeatedly during the 18th and 19th centuries, twice after being attacked during riots, but its burial ground was consistently used throughout this period, up until the 1870s. In the 1880s the chapel, schoolrooms and burial grounds were cleared to make space for an extension to New Street Station (ibid:1) (see Figure 6.5 and Figure 6.6).

By the 1830s, however, there were many more Nonconforming congregations in Birmingham than the (Unitarian) Old and Low Meeting Houses, and not all of these groups were in possession of burial space. The Nonconformist population of England swelled significantly between about 1780 and 1840 (Binfield 1977:7) and, when the religious census of 1851 was taken, counting the sittings at chapels and churches of all denominations, Nonconformists accounted for nearly as many attendances as members of the established Church, both in Birmingham and across England as a whole (ibid:15; Stephens 1964; Drake 1972:17). The significance of this was that by the 1830s a considerable number of Birmingham citizens were being forced to bury their dead in consecrated Anglican spaces, contrary to their religious consciences.

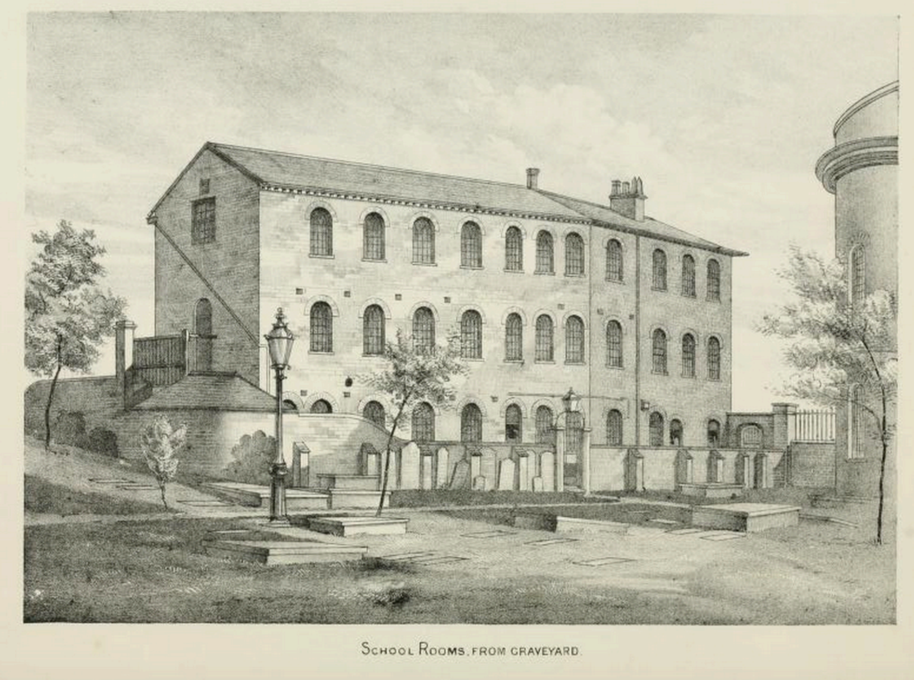


Figure 6.5 The School Rooms of the Old Meeting House, showing the burial ground in the foreground. Note the large number of flat tablet memorials as well as some upright monuments (Hutton Beale 1882:58, courtesy of www.archive.org).

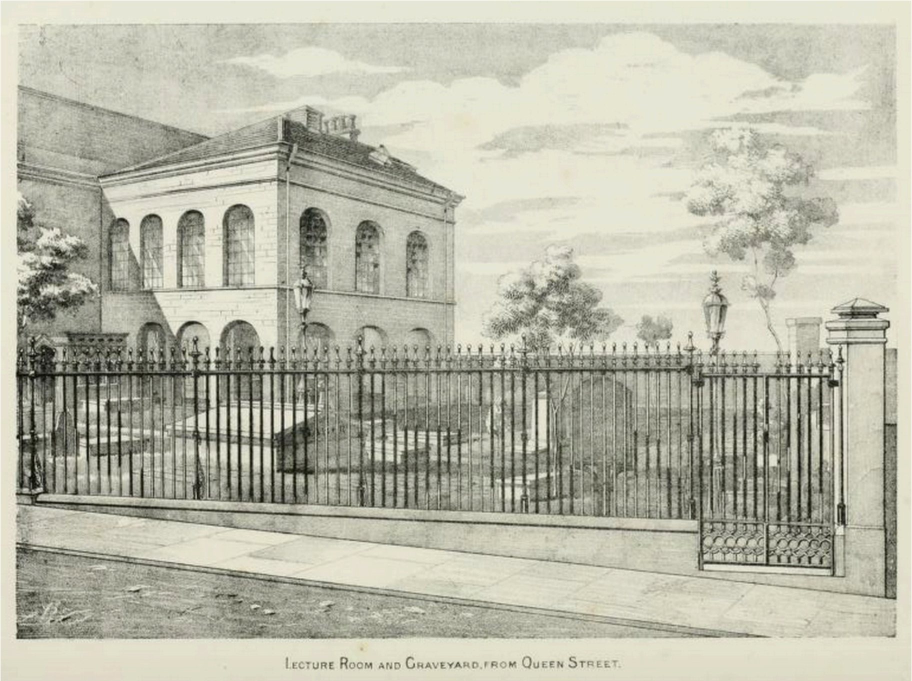


Figure 6.6 The lecture room and graveyard of the Old Meeting House, viewed from Queen Street. Several low and flat monuments are visible as well as some upright stones (Hutton Beale 1882:63, courtesy of www.archive.org).

Not only did the Nonconformist population in Birmingham increase in size across the first half of the 19th century, but it also diversified. In 1800 there were eight Nonconformist denominations worshipping in 17 places, and by 1892, when the *Birmingham News* did a survey of Nonconformists, this had grown to 21 denominations in 221 places of worship (Stephens 1964). These groups varied in terms of their organisational structures and disagreed on specific points of theology, but most enjoyed a great deal of common ground and often shared itinerant ministers, non-denominational Sunday Schools, and even meeting houses when circumstances demanded (Binfield 1977:155; Gilbert 1976:59; Hutton Beale 1882:40).

Cooperation between denominations was not unusual, in spite of frequent disagreement, and might be seen as a response to the shared disadvantages forced on them by the Test and Corporation Acts and faced in the form of sometimes open hostility from the established Church community (Binfield 1977:5). When Key Hill Cemetery opened in 1836 it was less than 50 years since the 1791 Birmingham riots in which four Nonconformist meeting houses and the residences of multiple Nonconformist families had been razed. These riots had been caused by the perceived revolutionary danger posed to both the established Church and the country as a whole by Nonconformists sympathising with the French Revolution (Stephens 1964).

In this light, the creation of a public space funded by Nonconformists, profiting Nonconformist shareholders, and catering explicitly and (effectively) exclusively to Nonconformists within the space of less than half a century was a significant achievement. It also demonstrated the developing administrative and economic capacities of the (increasingly) middle-class Nonconformists of Birmingham, as well as their emerging public profile in business and politics (Glaser 1958:354). This is not to suggest that those interred at Key Hill cemetery were all members of a social elite, but to acknowledge that the existence of the cemetery was itself predicated on the rapidly changing status and make-up of Birmingham's Nonconformists. By the 1830s there existed a strata of Nonconformist society capable of interdenominational cooperation, experienced in the bureaucracy and economics of construction projects (not least through the self-funded construction of new chapels), and able to tap into a network of investors. The Birmingham General Cemetery Company and the cemetery that it created at Key Hill are declarations of this.

Unlike the Nonconformist sections of Kensal Green and Southampton cemeteries, Key Hill was deeply embedded in the development of Nonconformist identity and status in Birmingham. It was something that the group itself, heterogeneous though it was in many ways, achieved for its own members. Unfortunately, the original record books of the Birmingham General Cemetery Company have been lost, making it difficult to reconstruct the exact ties that the original board of directors had to the various denominations of the local Nonconformist community. However, an account of the laying of the foundation stone for the cemetery's chapel notes the presence of four central guests: Thomas Tyndall, P. M. James, the Reverend John Angell James of Carrs Lane Chapel, and the Reverend Thomas Morgan of Cannon Street and Bond Street Chapel (Manning 1915). The denominational affiliation of P. M. James is unknown, but the other three were, respectively, associated with the Old Meeting House and therefore probably a Unitarian (Tyndall), an Independent (James), and a Baptist (Morgan). Regardless of the denominational identities of the cemetery's board, the selection of this range of representatives for the foundation ceremony indicates an inclusive atmosphere.

The site was, then, an overtly non-denominational space and a resource for all those marginalised by the burial provisions of the established Church. It was, furthermore, not just a resource that offered parity for Nonconformists, it surpassed the burial provisions of the Church of England. Like many industrialising towns, burial space was at a premium in Birmingham and churchyards were becoming overfull. The situation for Anglicans was not as problematic as in some places (such as Southampton) thanks to the construction of several new Anglican churches during the first decades of the 19th century, the expansion of some existing churchyards, and the establishment of at least one overflow burial ground (Yates 1830:105). These facilities were, however, far from ideal, and none was as extensive or carefully laid out as Key Hill. Although the cemetery was technically open to members of all faiths, the fact that it was unconsecrated effectively excluded Anglicans from its offer of a plot in perpetuity and a setting in harmony with the emerging ideal of quiet graveside contemplation, prospects valued as much by Anglicans as by Nonconformists. In establishing Key Hill cemetery, the Nonconformist population of Birmingham was, in a way, occupying the privileged, exclusory position usually enjoyed by members of the established Church, and until Warstone Lane opened in 1847, over a decade later, they retained this position. The site therefore provides an interesting counterpoint not only to Bath Abbey Cemetery, but also to the Nonconformist sections of Kensal Green and Southampton, where the organisation of space placed the group in quite different positions in relation to the Established community.

Cemetery Architecture

Although the religious topography of the site was very different from Kensal Green, the Greek Revival chapel at Key Hill was quite similar to those in the London cemetery (compare Figure 4.3 and Figure 4.4). The design, complete with Doric columns, was the work of the local architect Charles Edge (1800-1867) who, in the preceding five years, had constructed other Nonconformist structures, civic buildings and an Anglican church, all in the cCassical styles. The choice of Edge as architect for the cemetery could be considered typical of Nonconformist preferences at a time when new Anglican churches were increasingly being erected in the Gothic idiom. Certainly, many (although not all) of the Nonconformist chapels in Birmingham in the 1830s boasted columns of various types (ibid:139). In light of this, a preponderance of Classical designs among the cemetery monuments would be expected, with the chapel setting an aesthetic tone that accorded with the denominational identities of the cemetery's occupants.

This is not to suggest that Classical designs were the prerogative of Nonconformity; indeed two of the (Anglican) Commissioners' churches constructed in Birmingham during the 1820s were Classical in design, and, as Kensal Green demonstrates, so too were many Anglican cemetery chapels. However, Classical architecture was the predominant manifestation of Nonconformity in the town when the cemetery was opened in 1836 and, when, twelve years later, the cemetery was joined by an Anglican equivalent only 100 metres away on Warstone Lane, the style chosen for the new cemetery was Gothic Revival. Although the choice of a Gothic chapel may be attributable as much to a decade's worth of changes in cemetery design as to denominational association, the pairings of Nonconformist:Classical and Anglican:Gothic appear to endorse an architectural binary for these groups, which might affect the choices of those who subsequently undertook commemoration at these sites. Exploring how these contrasting architectural frameworks affected monument use in Key Hill would be more straightforward if the sample could be compared directly with the nearby Warstone Lane Cemetery. Unfortunately, grave clearance at Warstone Lane was even more extensive than at Key Hill (see chapter four), which makes such a comparison impracticable.

Figure 6.7 Birmingham Key Hill Cemetery chapel from the north, artist and date unknown (courtesy of www.warwickshireinfo.webspace.virginmedia.com).

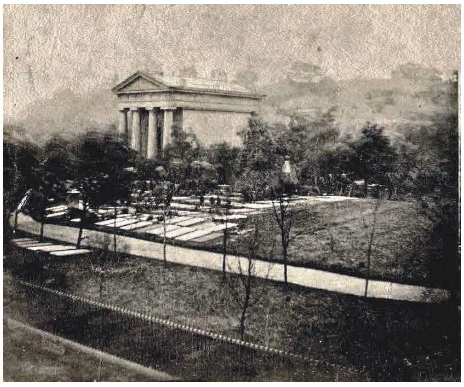


Figure 6.8 Stereographic image of Birmingham Key Hill Cemetery chapel taken from the south west, on Icknield Street, late 19th century (courtesy of www.birminghamhistory.co.uk).

Figure 6.9 View of the rear of the Birmingham Key Hill Cemetery chapel from the east, on top of the catacombs, taken c.1953 (courtesy of the Friends of Key Hill and Warstone Lane Cemeteries, www.fkwc.org).

Cemetery Layout

As well as undergoing more severe clearance than the other cemeteries in this study, the overall landscape of Key Hill has undergone other significant changes. The site was used as an active sand quarry throughout the 19th century and into the early 20th century, meaning that the south-eastern area of the cemetery was repeatedly extended during this period (compare Figure 6.10 with Figure 6.11). The cemetery has also, unfortunately, lost its mortuary chapel, which was demolished in the 1960s. Where the building stood there is a bare mound, with some benches provided by the city council.

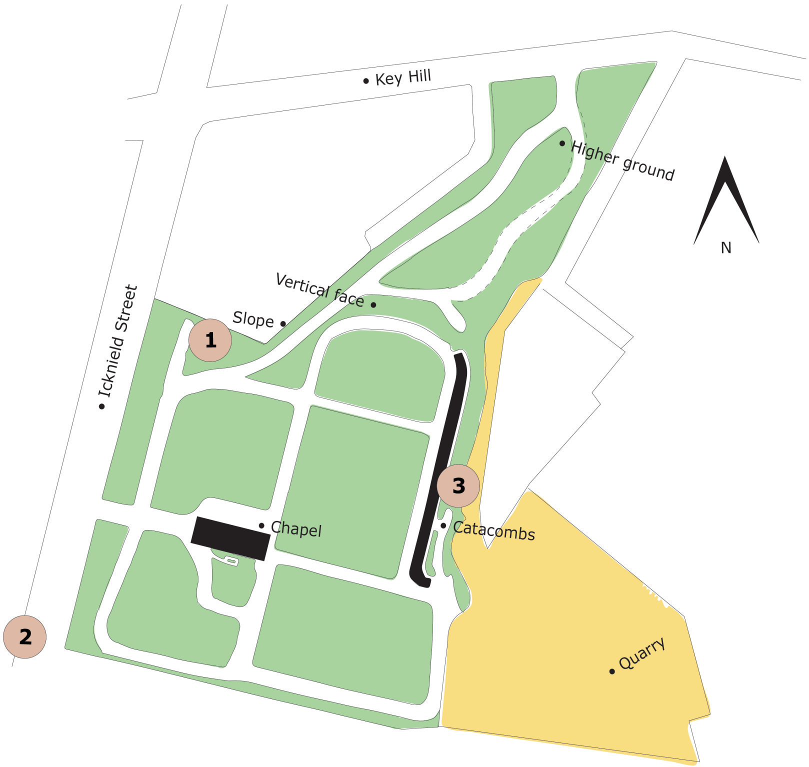


Figure 6.10 Key Hill Cemetery, Birmingham, c.1843, based on the Ordinance Survey Map of the same year, showing the points from which **Figure 6.7**, **Figure 6.8**, and **Figure 6.9** were taken/drawn (illustration author's own).

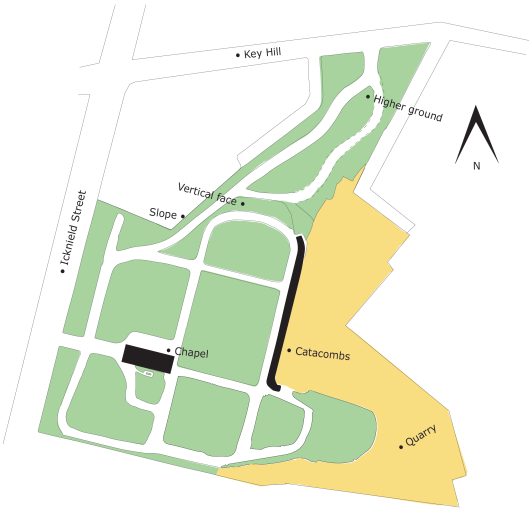


Figure 6.11 Key Hill Cemetery, Birmingham, circa 1902 when the sand quarry was still in use (illustration author's own).

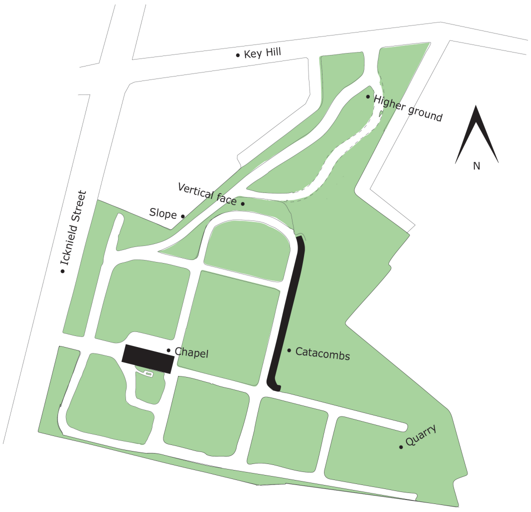


Figure 6.12 Key Hill Cemetery, Birmingham, as the cemetery stands today, except that the chapel is now not present (illustration author's own).

Apart from the Glasgow Necropolis (see chapter seven), Key Hill Cemetery has the most varied topography of the five sites and is divided into a series of comparatively isolated sections. The area to the north, near the Key Hill Drive entrance, is on higher ground than the rest of the cemetery, and the two areas are mostly mutually concealed. The exception to this is the vista afforded by the sharp drop at the southern end of the northern section (indicated in Figure 6.10). This sharp fall runs south, providing the vertical face into which the catacombs were built, from the top of which the image shown in Figure 6.9 was taken (see Figure 6.10). The catacombs were designed by the same architect as the cemetery chapel and form part of a semi-circular, sheer sided hollow. The northern end of the cemetery is accessible from the rest of the site on its western side by a sloping path. Throughout the period surveyed this was the only point of access between the two areas, but it is now possible to walk down the eastern side of the catacombs and into the south-western section of the site, which was once a quarry.

The smaller and higher northern section of the site is comprised of a single large area subdivided by two winding paths. The land rises slightly towards the northeast and is bounded on the east side by a brick retaining wall. The original planting of this section is unclear as everything save some trees has been cleared, but images of other sections of the cemetery from the late 1910s indicate that shrubberies and flowers were once present, and presumably had been during the 19th century (Figure 6.13). By the 1950s, young and probably self-seeded trees restricted visibility within the northern section (Figure 6.14).

Figure 6.13 View of the Icknield Street entrance of Key Hill Cemetery, Birmingham, looking west, circa 1919. Note the shrubbery on the right had side of the image (courtesy of the Friends of Key Hill and Warstone Lane Cemeteries, www.fkwc.org).

Figure 6.14 The northern, higher, end of the Key Hill Cemetery, Birmingham, looking north towards the Key Hill Drive entrance, circa 1853 (image courtesy of the Friends of Key Hill and Warstone Lane Cemeteries, www.fkwc.org).

The larger southern area of the cemetery consists of several distinct areas that are either totally obscured from mutual view, or partially so. One space is delineated on three sites by the catacombs and the sharp semi-circular cliffs above which the northern section sits. South-west of this enclosed amphitheatre, behind the slope into which the catacombs were built, is another isolated area. This was originally the sand quarry. The area surrounding the chapel is subdivided by several gravelled paths, and a slight rise in the ground from Icknield Street towards where the chapel once stood restricts the line of sight east-west. Planting also acted to divide the spaces within the cemetery, and was undertaken as part of the initial laying out of the cemetery by the local nurserymen John Pope and Sons. Figure 6.8, which was probably taken before 1865, suggests that this planting was quite dense and shows saplings in the foreground near Icknield Street, as well as denser vegetation further back towards the chapel. Figure 6.9, taken in 1953, shows the opposite view of the chapel and much more established trees. As in Kensal Green, the landscape of the cemetery changed a great deal as the initial planting matured and monuments were erected, both of which divide up the space within the site, restricting views across it.

In some areas of the site, however, the monumental body was dominated by flat tablet memorials, much like those seen in the burial ground of the Old

Meeting House (see Figure 6.5). This appears to have been the case particularly in the southwest area of the site (see Figure 6.8 and Figure 6.9). Elsewhere, upright tablets and pedestal monuments were interspersed more regularly (see Figure 6.9). As was noted earlier, the cemetery underwent some grave clearance in 1953 and during the 1960s, most of which consisted of burying flat markers in order to facilitate mowing. The result is that areas previously dominated by these monument forms now appear quite empty.

Overall, then, Key Hill comprises a very different landscape to the other sites, both in terms of religious status and the internal arrangement of space.

The Samples

Kensal Green is the largest sample in this study, with 455 surveyed monuments, 406 of which could be associated with dates. A further 299 monuments were partially recorded but not surveyed as they were illegible (see Figure 4.14). Twenty-six of the surveyed memorials were erected in the unconsecrated section, and 429 were in the consecrated section. The Key Hill sample comprises only 55 surveyed monuments and 13 illegible ones, although the caveat of the grave clearances of the 1950s and 1960s should be borne in mind.

At Kensal Green the surveyed monuments tend to cluster around the main paths, especially near focal points, for example, on the north-west quarter of the circular path, just east of the Anglican chapel, and near where the central path branches just inside the consecrated section. At Key Hill, monuments were also clumped along paths, and were mostly found north of the chapel, the area south of the chapel being dominated by upright headstone monuments and flat tablets, often dating to after the surveyed period. The area to the north-west of where the chapel stood, directly on the route between the two entrances, had the highest density of monuments.

Monument Types

The samples from both sites were dominated by urns (Figure 6.15), although in Kensal Green 18 of these were ‘probable urn bases’, as their urns were missing (see chapter four). At both sites this predominance was most pronounced in the period up to 1856 (compare Figure 6.16, Figure 6.23, and Figure 6.29), when far more urn monuments were erected than all of the other surveyed categories combined: in the consecrated section of Kensal Green 156 urn monuments were erected, in comparison to 68 obelisks, Gothic crosses, broken columns, and Egyptianizing mausolea; in the unconsecrated section the difference was less striking, as six urns and four obelisks were erected; in Key Hill 17 urns were erected in comparison to two obelisks and one cross memorial. This pattern is familiar from the Bath Abbey and Southampton samples, where up until the middle of the 1850s urn erection dominated, before falling in the last 15 years of the surveyed period (see Figure 5.10, Figure 5.12, and Figure 5.14). The shift away from urn erection, however, differed at the different sites.

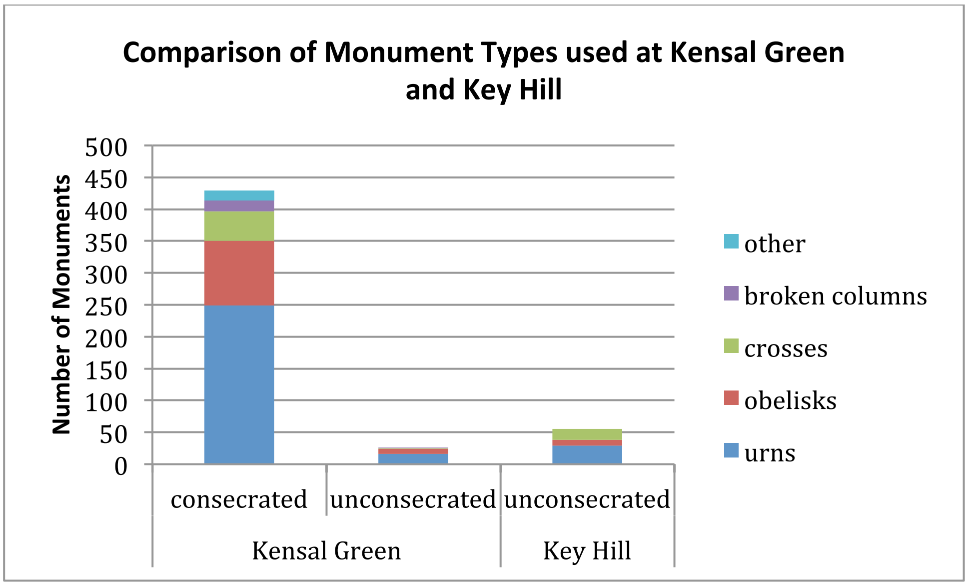


Figure 6.15 Comparison of monument types sampled at Kensal Green and Key Hill.

At Key Hill, after 1855 the number of urns being erected dwindled, and increasing numbers of crosses were used, while the number of obelisks being erected remained small but consistent from the beginning of the 1850s through to the end of the study period. Looking at the surveyed monumental corpus cumulatively, despite the marked increase in the popularity of Gothic cross monuments in the last 15 years of the study period, the earlier high rates of urn erection mean that the overall number of urns remained considerably higher throughout the surveyed period. As a result of this, Gothic crosses remained a less prominent part of the monumental corpus through the 1860s. This impression was accentuated by their slightly smaller average height in comparison to urn and obelisk monuments, and because they tended to be upright tablet headstones rather than pedestal memorials, as is indicated by their significantly lower average volume (see Figure 6.44, Figure 6.45, and Figure 6.46). Considerable creativity and variation is found in the decorative detailing and forms of monuments at Key Hill (see Figure 6.18, Figure 6.19, Figure 6.20, Figure 6.21, and Figure 6.22) but there are no broken columns in the survey.

Although there were no urn design headstones like those found in Southampton, there was one plaque memorial commemorating a series of catacomb burials which had a relief-carved draped urn and cherubs (monument 6029, Figure 6.20). Overall, five of the sampled monuments at Key Hill had carved decorations featuring either cherubs, mourning women, or angels. This is a far higher proportion than at any of the other samples; seven at Kensal Green (all in the consecrated section), three in Glasgow, one at Bath and none in the Southampton sample (although one of the illegible monuments had cherub decorations). Why the Nonconformist community of Birmingham should have a proclivity for figural decoration is unclear and has not, to the author's knowledge, been attested to elsewhere as a specifically Nonconformist practice. It is quite possible that it is unrelated to the denominational identity of the site and its users and is, instead a regional preference, but without a local comparative site it is difficult to assess this possibility.

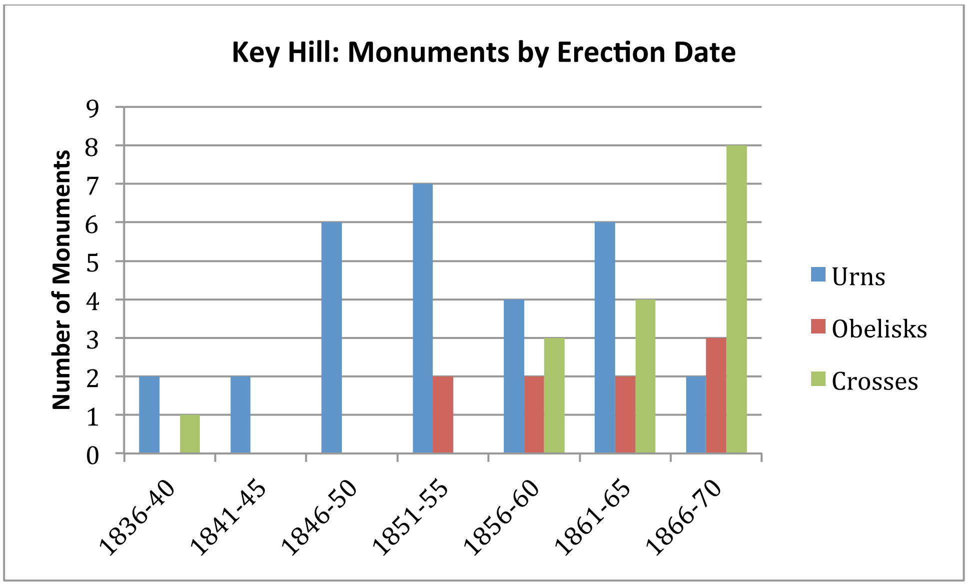


Figure 6.16 Surveyed monument erection at Key Hill in five-year increments, excluding the one cross form monument that could be dated only to within a ten-year period.

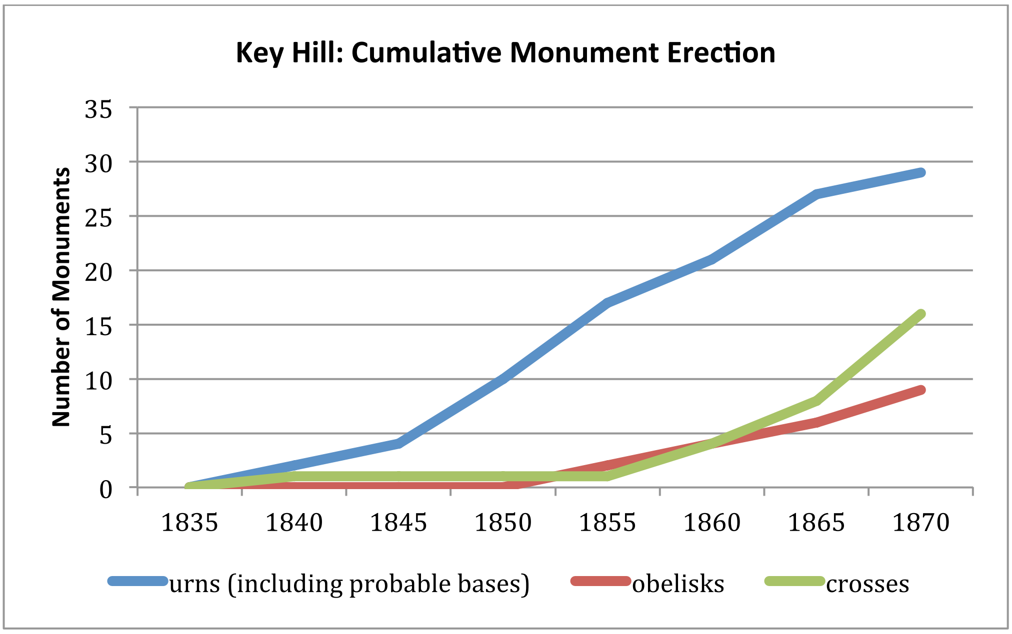


Figure 6.17 Erection of sampled monuments over time at Key Hill Cemetery, displayed cumulatively.

Figure 6.18 Cherubs heads on monument 6019 (Key Hill Cemetery), dedicated to Frederick Phillips, who died 1855. (Photograph: author, 2013.)

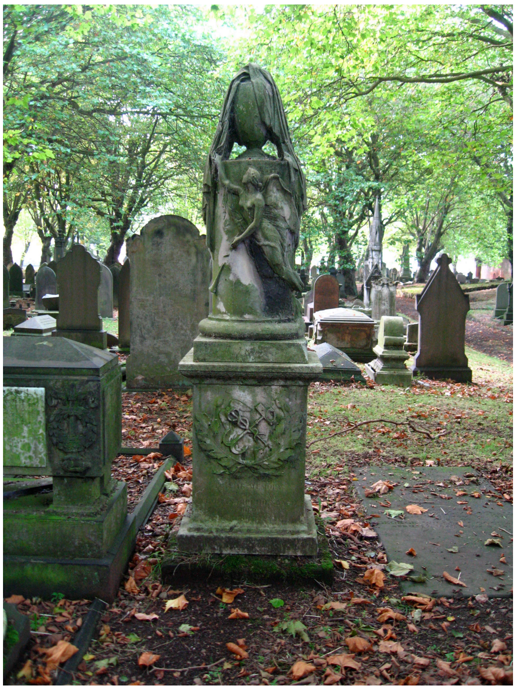


Figure 6.19 Monument 6026 (Key Hill Cemetery) dedicated to Thomas Breidenbach, who died in 1845. According to the Friends of Key Hill and Warstone Lane Cemeteries, the draped urn monument was designed by an Italian sculptor from Florence named Fedi, although it has not been possible to confirm this. (Photograph: author, 2013.)

Figure 6.20 Monument 6029 (Key Hill Cemetery) Abraham Kemp and Elizabeth Moore (his mother in law), both died December 1856. Note the carved urn and the combination of marble with coloured tiling. (Photograph: author, 2013.)

Figure 6.21 Monument 6010 (Key Hill Cemetery), dedicated to George Cox, who died 1846. Note the unusual octagonal pedestal, on top of which the urn sits providing extensive space for inscriptions. (Photograph: author, 2013.)

Figure 6.22 Monument 6048 (Key Hill Cemetery), dedicated to Arthur John Walker, who died 1846. Note the combination of a pedestal base, a book design, an obelisk element, and the curved stem of an urn at the top (the urn is now missing). (Photograph: author, 2013.)

In the consecrated section of Kensal Green, the decline in the numbers of urns erected after 1855 was also combined with a similar pattern of consistent obelisk use and increasing Gothic cross use. However, whereas cross use exceeded urn erection in the last five years of the study period in the Key Hill sample, in the consecrated section of Kensal Green the rate of Gothic cross erection never quite exceeded that of urns (see Figure 6.23). Furthermore, the number of obelisks erected in Kensal Green after 1850 was much higher in comparison to urn and Gothic cross numbers than in Key Hill, meaning that the overall number of Gothic crosses never exceeded that of obelisks in the consecrated section of the Kensal Green sample. Because of their low numbers and slightly lesser height and bulk (see Figure 6.44, Figure 6.45, and Figure 6.46), Gothic crosses were never a prominent feature of the Kensal Green landscape.

The use of broken columns in the consecrated section of Kensal Green was infrequent throughout the surveyed period, increasing somewhat during the 1850s and the first half of the 1860s. Likewise, the construction of

Egyptianizing monuments, including mausolea and other forms was never a frequent occurrence. The second half of the 1830s saw the highest number of these idiosyncratic memorials being erected, some of them alluding to Egyptian architecture simply through the use of form, for example monuments 0089 and 0484 (Figure 6.26 and Figure 6.25). Others used decorative elements like hieroglyphic type designs or winged sun-disks, for example monuments 0150 and 0138 (Figure 6.27 and Figure 6.28).

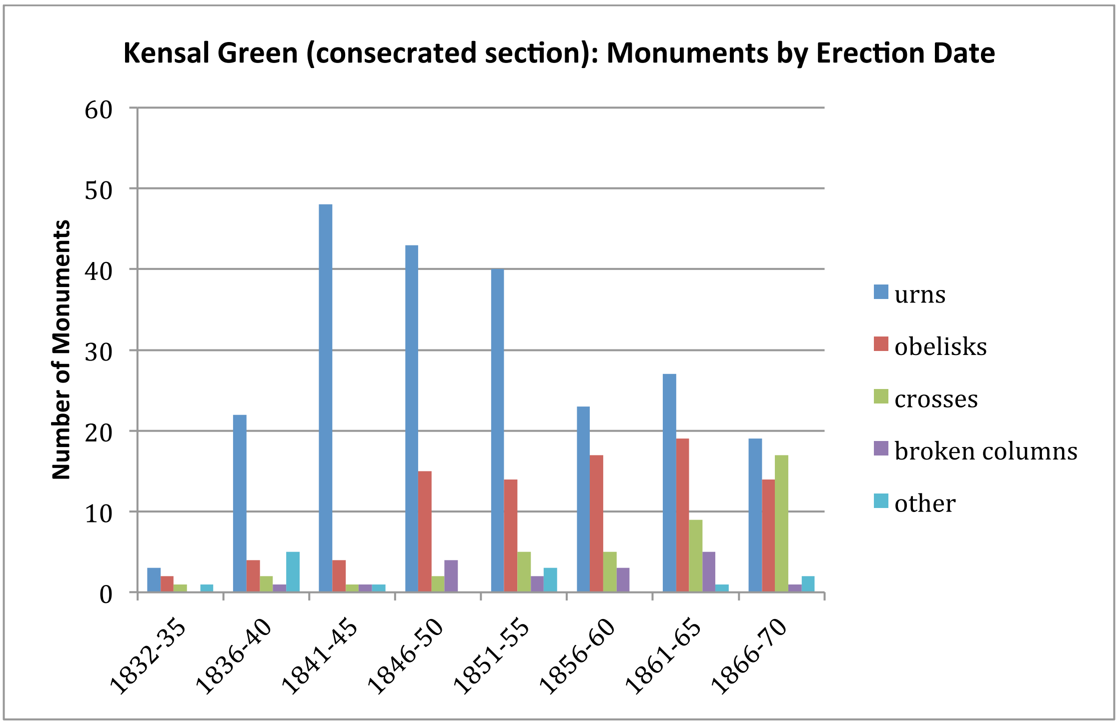


Figure 6.23 Surveyed monument erection in the consecrated section of Kensal Green in five-year increments, excluding the 43 monuments that could not be dated sufficiently exactly.

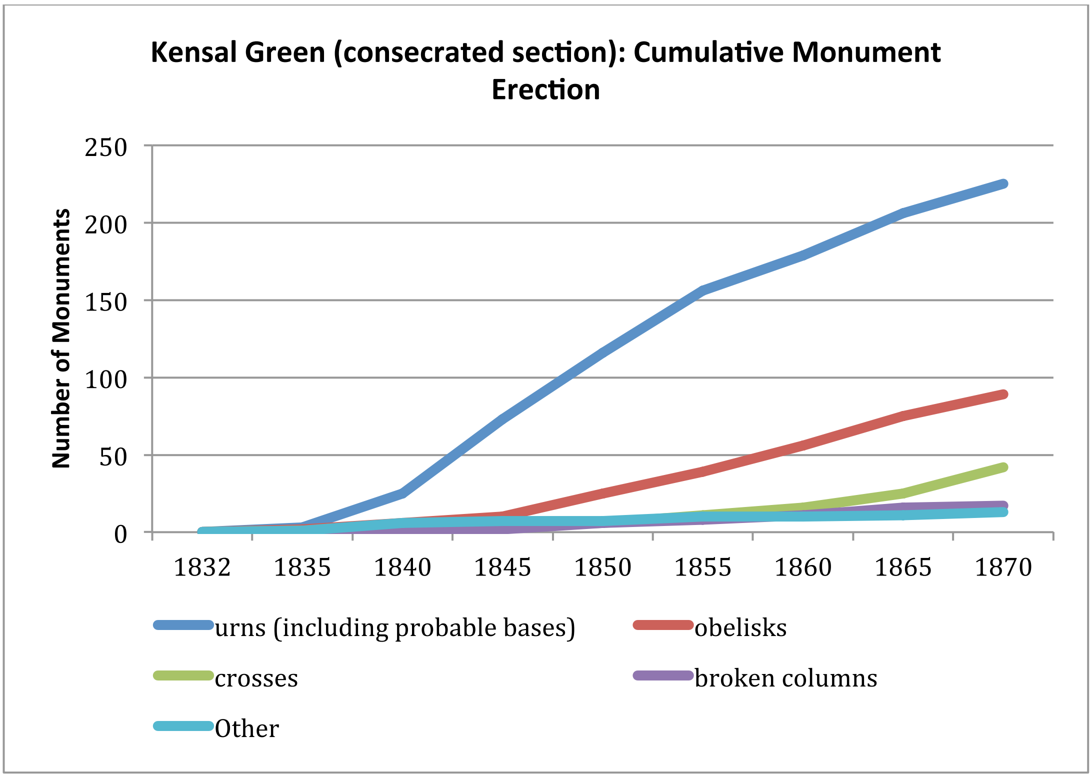


Figure 6.24 Erection of sampled monuments over time in the consecrated section of Kensal Green Cemetery, displayed cumulatively.

Figure 6.25 Monument 0089 (consecrated section of Kensal Green), pyramid form monument dedicated to Eleanor Matilda Pengree, who died in 1839. (Photograph: author, 2012.)

Figure 6.26 Monument 0484 (consecrated section of Kensal Green), the Fenwick mausoleum, dating to 1837. Note the battered sides. (Photograph: author, 2013.)

Figure 6.27 Detail of monument 0150 (consecrated section of Kensal Green), the Farrant mausoleum, dating to c.1844. Note the winged sun disk, and the hieroglyphic style designs on the cornice. (Photograph: author, 2012.)

Figure 6.28 Monument 0138 (consecrated section of Kensal Green), the Ashbury mausoleum, dating to c.1866. A winged sun-disk is carved on the cornice above the door but is not clearly visible in this image. (Photograph: author, 2012.)

There were no Egyptianizing mausolea or other Egyptianizing monuments in the unconsecrated section of Kensal Green, and only one Gothic cross and one broken column monument. As in the consecrated section of the cemetery, and the other samples, urn use fell after 1855 but, unlike in these other settings, urn erections resurged in the later 1860s. The sample size being so small, however, makes it difficult to accord this much significance without recourse to statistical analysis.

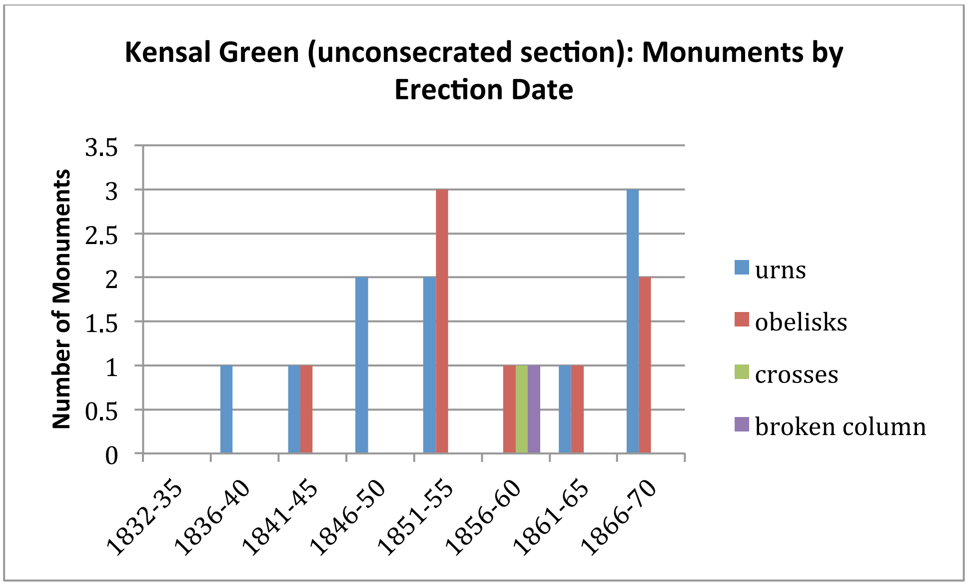


Figure 6.29 Surveyed monument erection in the unconsecrated section of Kensal Green in five-year increments, excluding the six urns that could not be dated sufficiently exactly.

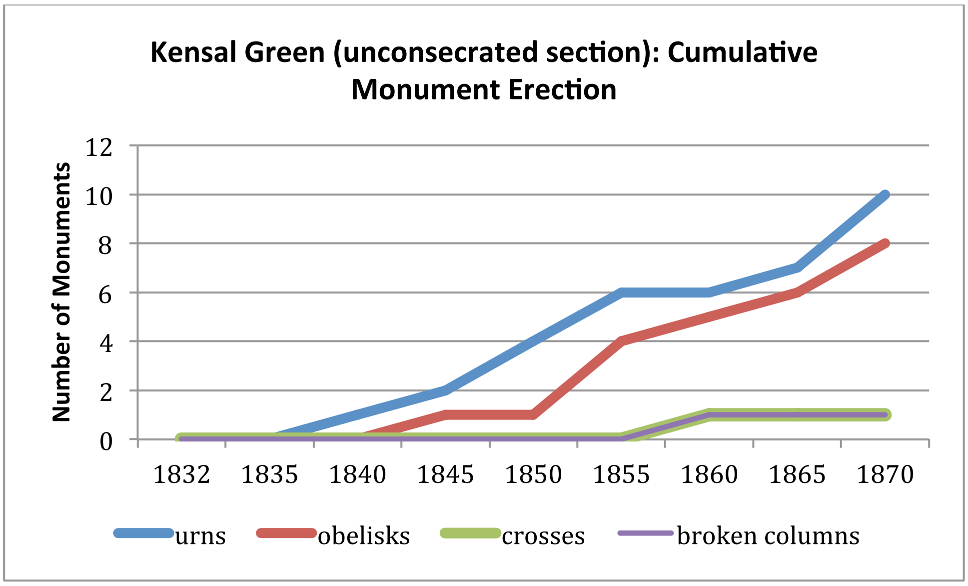


Figure 6.30 Erection of sampled monuments over time in the unconsecrated section of Kensal Green Cemetery, displayed cumulatively.

Occupational Data

Occupational data was available for 17 of the 26 surveyed monuments in the unconsecrated section of Kensal Green and 365 of the 429 surveyed in the consecrated section. At Key Hill 54 of the 55 surveyed monuments had this data. The occupational make-ups of these samples are quite different: the strongly manufacturing oriented economy of Birmingham showing through in the Key Hill sample, while the sample from the consecrated area of Kensal Green resembles the Bath Abbey sample far more than it does the unconsecrated part of its own site.

Manufacturing was the most common occupation amongst monument erectors in the Key Hill sample, with more than half of the surveyed memorials belonging to households involved in productive industries of various kinds. This category conceals a significant degree of variation that makes it inappropriate to consider it as an occupational group analogous to the maritime or military groups discussed in the previous chapter. Some of those listed manufacturers worked alone or employed a handful of other artisans, while others owned factories and employed hundreds.

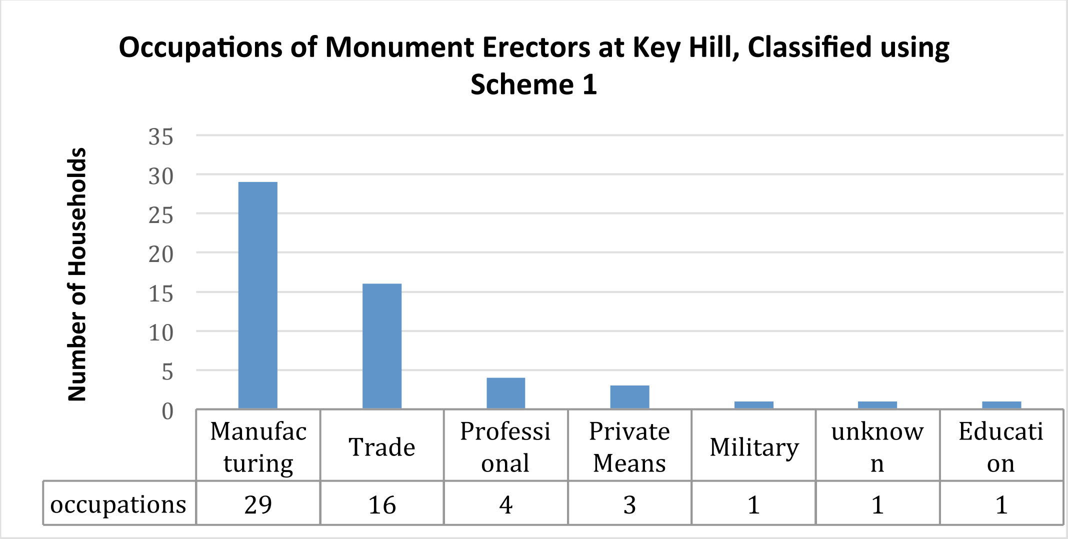


Figure 6.31 Occupations of monument erectors in the Key Hill sample, classified using Scheme 1.

When classificatory Scheme 1 was being developed, a 'craft' category was initially included in an attempt to differentiate between different scales of production, to separate the artisan working alone or in a small workshop from the industrial factory owner, but the inconsistency of the information given in the census made it impossible to maintain this distinction. The census sometimes includes the number of people employed by a given individual, and may specify the material produced but, in many cases, it gives only the most general indication, sometimes saying nothing more than 'manufacturer' (see Figure 6.32). It is often not even possible to say whether the individual in question is an employer, an employee, or independent worker. However, even with consistently detailed information, the long and uninterrupted gradient between the two ends of the spectrum of production would have rendered a binary distinction impossible. Should the 'watch guard maker employing 4 men 1 boy 11 women 5 girls' be classified as working in craft or manufacturing? The craft category was therefore abandoned, but the result is a manufacturing category that has little significance beyond its broadest meaning, that all members of the group are primarily connected to the production of goods.

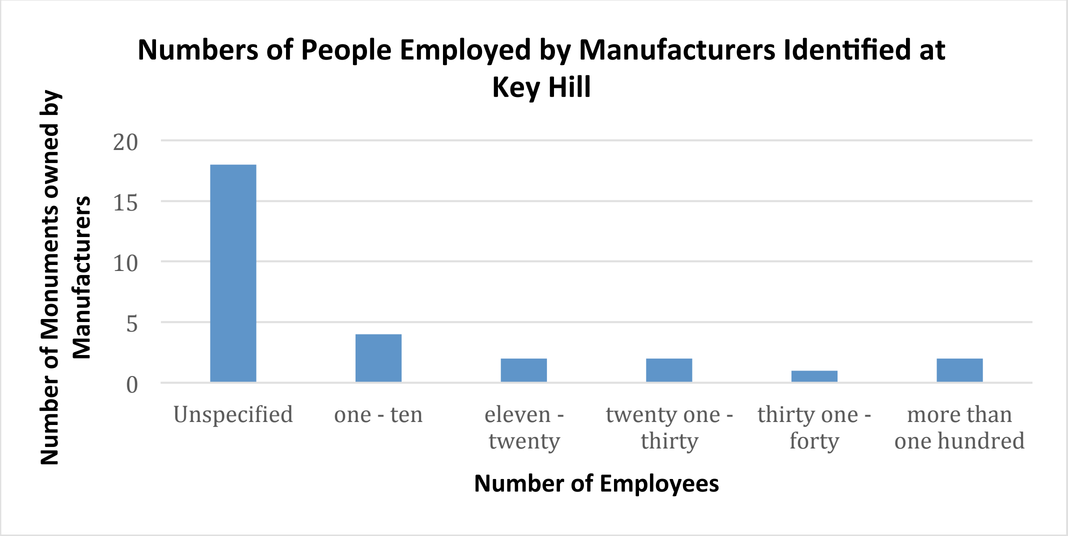


Figure 6.32 Numbers of individuals employed by manufacturers associated with monuments in the Key Hill sample.

For example, Henry Yates, who erected monument 6021 to commemorate the death of his wife Harriet in 1854 (Figure 6.33) co-owned a large edge-tool manufacturing factory (Figure 6.33, Figure 6.34) which, according to the 1851 census, employed 195 people. Henry Yates was classified a manufacturer, but so too was Henry Thomas, who erected monument 6032 upon the death of his son Bernard Thomas in 1868 at the age of 26 (Figure 6.35). Thomas, like Yates, was a tool manufacturer, but according to the 1871 census he employed only four men. The circles within which the members of these two households moved would have been quite separate and distinct, and the professional lives of the two Henrys would have been very different. Although the same might be true of a Private and a General in the army, those in a military occupation share a much more clearly bounded and long-standing set of reference points and hierarchies through which each member moves.

Unsurprisingly, given that the sample was dominated by such heterogeneous occupational groups (trading comprises a similarly mixed set of occupations), there was no indication that specific monument types were used in association with any particular occupational identities in the Key Hill sample (Figure 6.36).

Figure 6.33 Monument 6021 (Key Hill Cemetery), dedicated to Harriet Yates, who died 1854. (Photograph: author, 2013.)

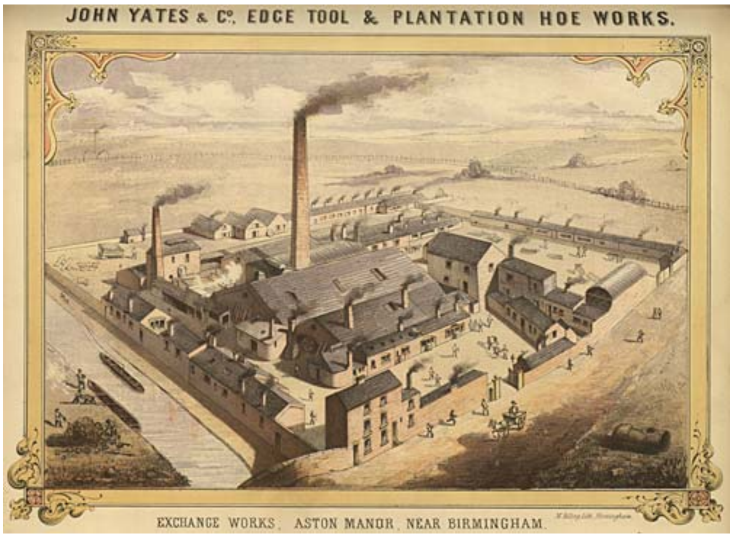


Figure 6.34 John Yates and Co. factory (co-owned by Henry Yates), Illustrated in *The New Illustrated Directory* 1858 (courtesy of http://www.search.revolutionaryplayers.org.uk, accessed 08/01/14).

Figure 6.35 Monument 6032 (Key Hill Cemetery) Bernard Thomas, died 1868. (Photograph: author, 2013.)

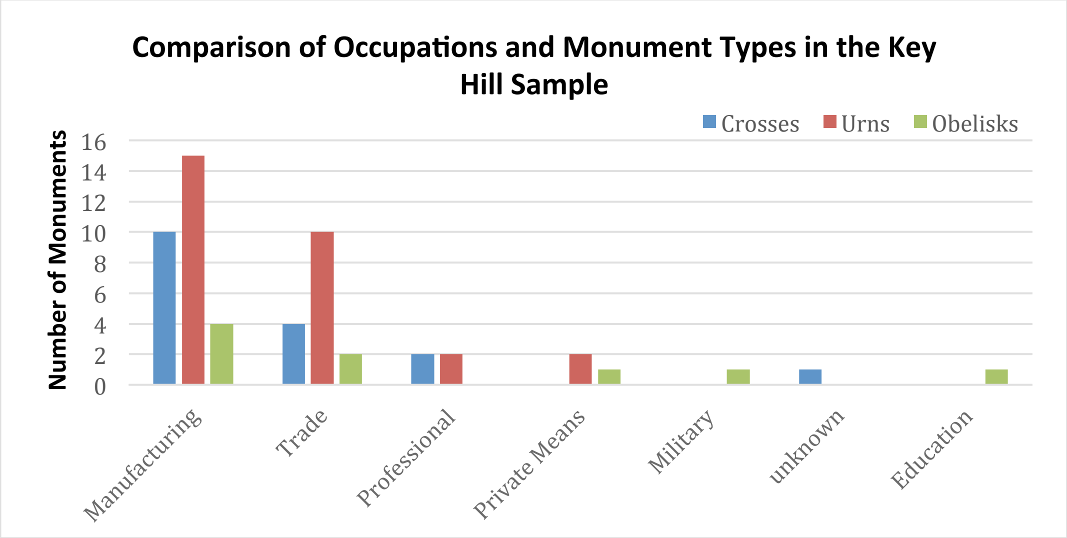


Figure 6.36 Comparison of monument types and occupations in the Key Hill sample.

The materials with which manufacturers in the Key Hill sample worked also varied; there were gun makers, jewellers, and brewers, all working at different scales of production and with different materials and markets. Perhaps unsurprisingly, given that the cemetery is located within the Jewellery Quarter, the largest group of manufacturers produced jewellery (Figure 6.37). This does not mean, however, that the majority of cemetery users were drawn from the area around the cemetery; see Figure 6.38. This suggests that the cemetery became, as had been intended, a resource for Nonconformists across the town, although we cannot be certain of the heterogeneity of the occupational make-up of the site's users.

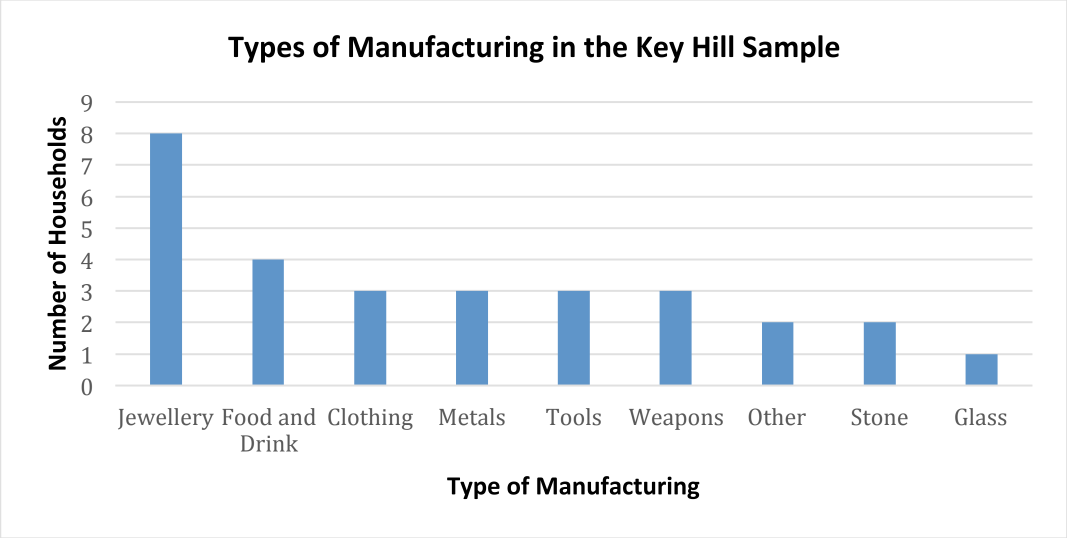


Figure 6.37 Materials produced by manufacturers identified in the Key Hill sample.

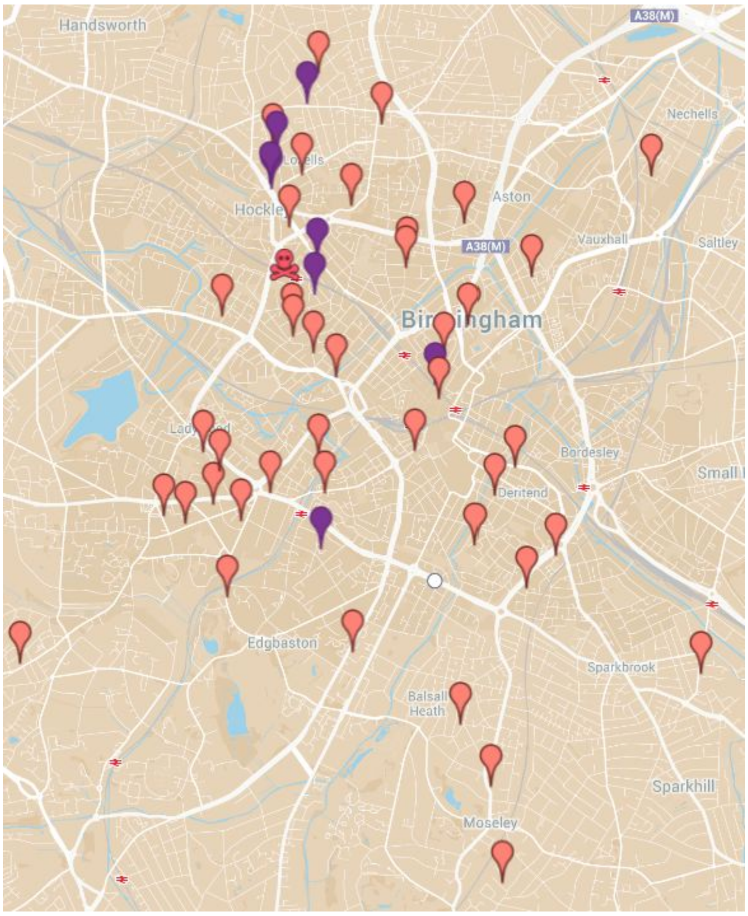


Figure 6.38 Census addresses of the households of monument erectors at Key Hill. The cemetery is marked with skull and crossbones, and the households marked in purple are those of jewellers. Four households, in Hadsor, King's Norton, Sutton Coldfield and Tipton are beyond the boundaries of the map. Note that some of the addresses are approximate as street layouts and house numbers have often changed. (Created using Google.co.uk/maps.)

The occupational composition of the sample from the unconsecrated section of Kensal Green was distinct from that found at Key Hill in that trade comprised the largest group. Although, like manufacturing, this is a heterogeneous category, and tells us little regarding the economic status, social position, or educational background of its members. Medicine, on the other hand, required an extended and expensive period of training, which indicates that a large portion of the Nonconformists sampled in Kensal Green were, perhaps unsurprisingly, likely to come from financially secure backgrounds.

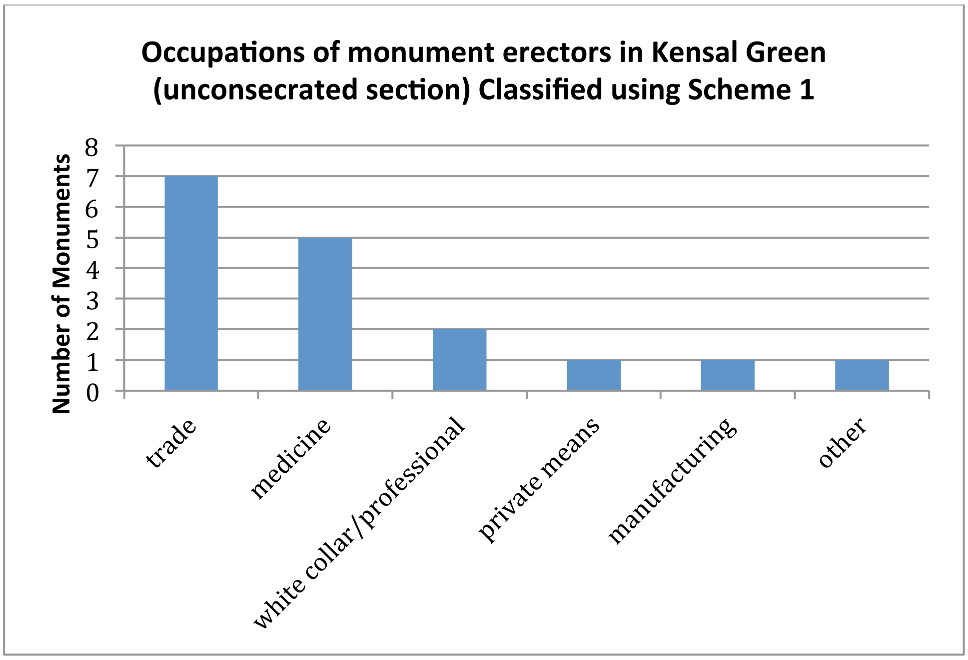


Figure 6.39 Occupations of monument erectors in the unconsecrated section of Kensal Green classified using Scheme 1.

The presence of the upper and established middle classes was more pronounced in the sample from the consecrated section of Kensal Green, where households supported by private means were the largest group. This accords with the claim made by the cemetery's directors in 1842 that the cemetery already contained "members of nearly 200 noble families" (minutes of the proceedings of the Directors of the General Cemetery Company, quoted in Curl 2001:110). The next largest group were those involved in trade, indicating that it was not only landed gentry using these monuments at this site. Military households were the third largest group. This is a very similar pattern of distribution to the occupational make-up found at Bath Abbey (see Figure 5.15), where approximately a third of households were supported by private means (in comparison to just under a quarter in the consecrated section of Kensal Green), and trade and military households represented about 17% of the sample each (in comparison to 24% and 12% respectively in Kensal Green). This did not, however, translate either to similar overall proportions of monument use, as cross use was significantly higher in Bath Abbey Cemetery than in the consecrated section of Kensal Green. Nor did it, as was indicated in chapter five, result in similar patterns of occupationally specific monument use. Indeed, there are no discernible patterns of association between occupational groups and monument forms in the consecrated section of Kensal Green, as Figure 6.41 indicates, except perhaps for military households, which was found not to be statistically significant (see appendix 2.2), and households headed by lawyers, which appear to use more crosses than others. When this was analysed using the Fisher's exact test, the significance (two-sided) was 0.005, which indicates significance (see appendix 2.10).

It is unclear, however, what this significance might represent. The pattern of usage is quite distinct from those seen at Bath Abbey and Southampton as the occupation of the monument erector/s or subject(s) are mentioned consistently in those examples, whereas only two of the ten crosses erected by or for lawyers mention their occupation. Unless these individuals knew each other personally there would be no way of their knowing that there was any association between crosses and lawyers. Even if there was some personal connection, which seems less likely given that some were solicitors and others were barristers; they did not come from the same area; did not live in similar locations; and were quite different ages (born between 1793 and 1838), it would still have been difficult to locate each others' monuments within the site as they were spread across the cemetery. This does not, therefore, bear the hallmarks of a site-specific practice that developed though the interaction of members of an occupational group with a commemorative landscape, as in Southampton and Bath Abbey. On a more general note, the scale of Kensal Green would likely have militated against the development of site-specific patterns of use; the volume of monuments being such that there could be no expectation that cemetery users would be familiar with the overall memorial body. How else should this use of monuments be considered? Gothic cross-monuments in Kensal Green do tend to be smaller than urns and obelisks, but there is no indication that these households were less wealthy than the rest of the sample; the average number of servants in the surveyed households from the consecrated section was three, and amongst cross-erecting lawyers this was also the case. It is possible that there was some broader pattern of Ecclesiological sympathy amongst lawyers than in other occupations, but there is no evidence that this is the case. Without further research there is no apparent reason why lawyers in Kensal Green should be more likely to use Gothic cross-monuments than other sampled cemetery users.

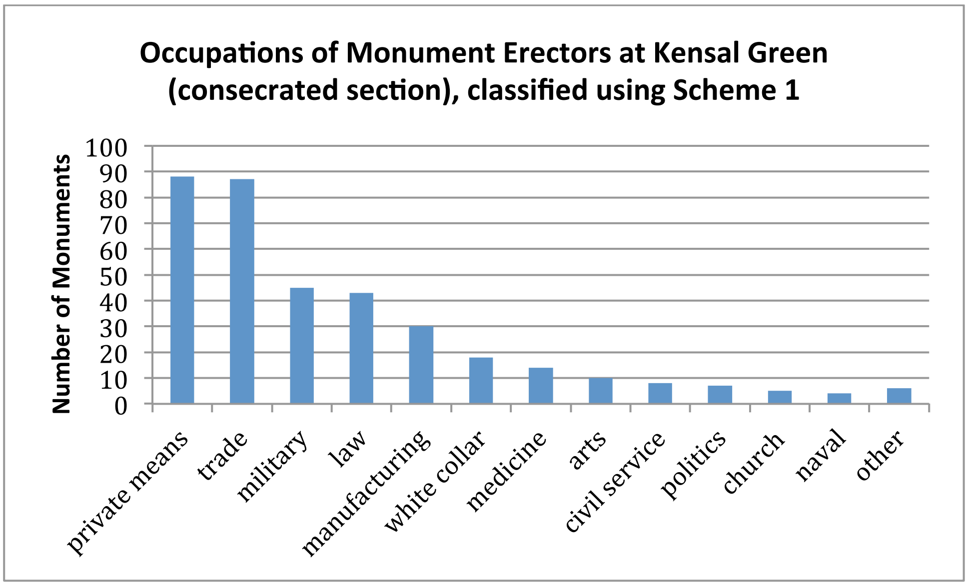


Figure 6.40 Occupations of monument erectors in the consecrated section of Kensal Green, classified using Scheme 1.

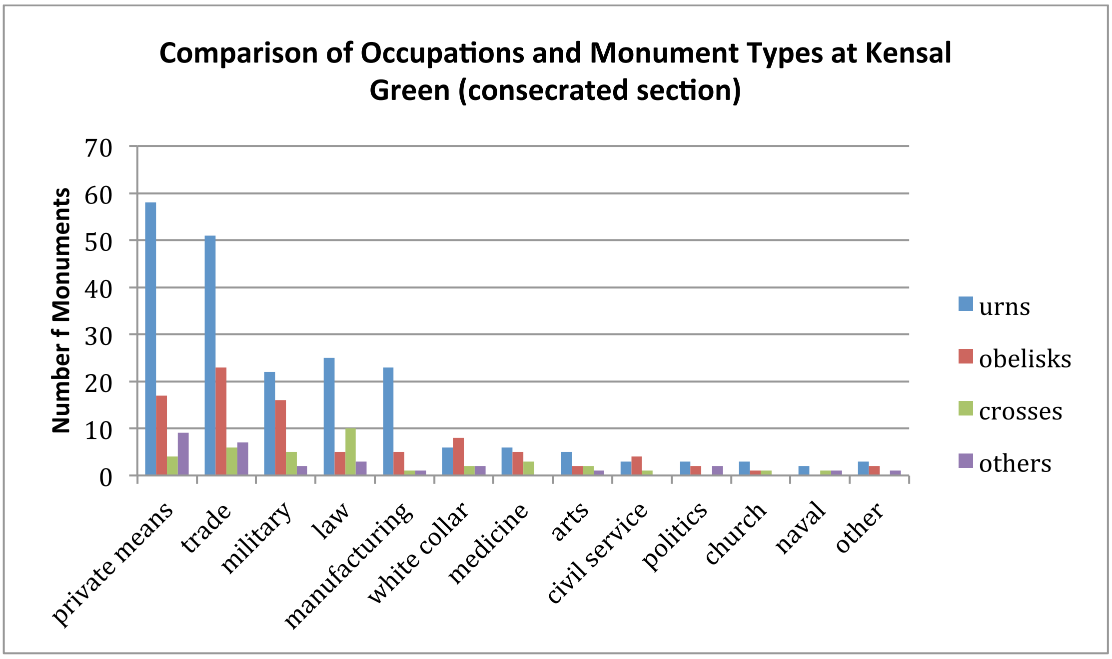


Figure 6.41 Comparison of monument types and occupations in the consecrated section of Kensal Green Cemetery.

Given the difference in the occupational make-up of Key Hill and the two sections of Kensal Green are so distinct, it is unsurprising that the numbers of servants employed by households erecting monuments in the samples from these sites also differ (see Figure 6.43). The average number of servants employed in the consecrated section of Kensal Green was the highest of the sites discussed so far, with Bath Abbey and the unconsecrated section of Kensal Green not far behind. Monument erectors at Key Hill and in Southampton Cemetery (both areas combined) employed fewer (see Figure 6.42).

	Kensal Green (consecrated)	Bath Abbey	Kensal Green (unconsecrated)	Key Hill	Southampton (both sections)
Average	3	2.5	2.3	1.4	0.9
Median	3	3	2	1	1

Figure 6.42 Table showing the average and median numbers of residential servants employed by surveyed households

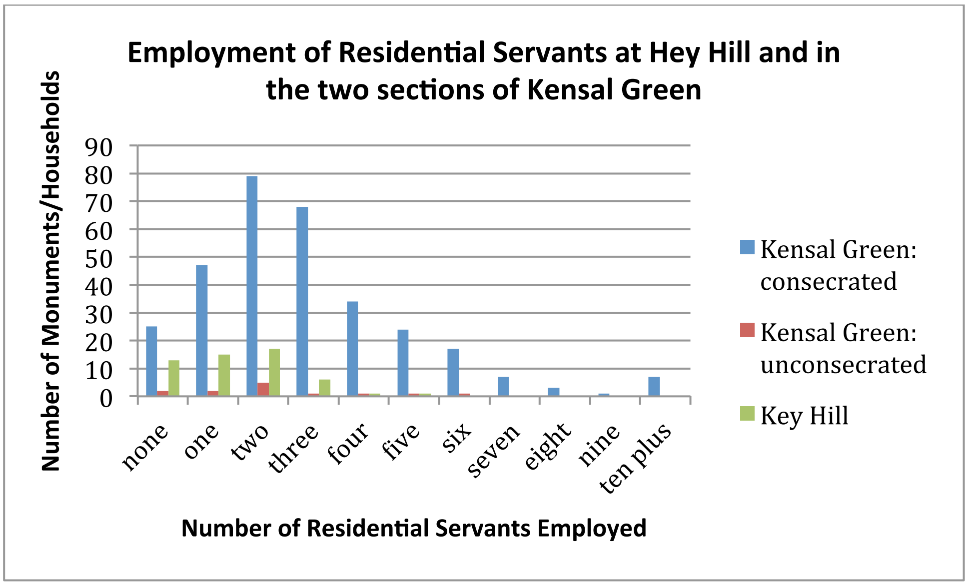


Figure 6.43 Employment of residential servants by households sampled in Key Hill and in the consecrated and unconsecrated sections of Kensal Green.

Monument Sizes

The difference between the samples from Key Hill and Kensal Green in terms of residential servant employment is mirrored by a small difference in the average heights of the surveyed monument forms (Figure 6.44). Looking across all the sites, however, these two variables (servant employment and monument size) do not correlate consistently (Figure 6.45). Nor is this the case when monument volumes are considered instead of heights.

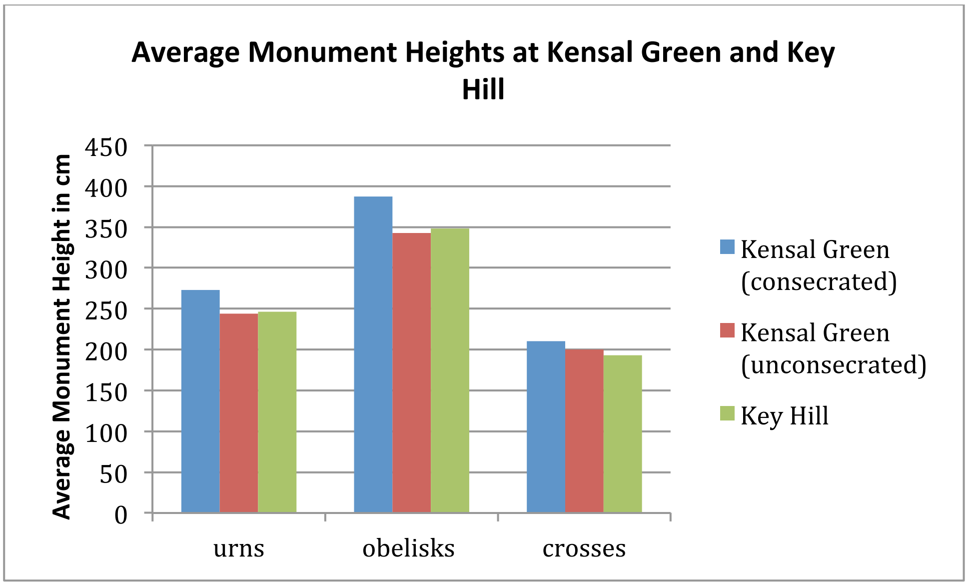


Figure 6.44 Average heights of monuments surveyed in Kensal Green and Key Hill, excluding monuments with missing top elements.

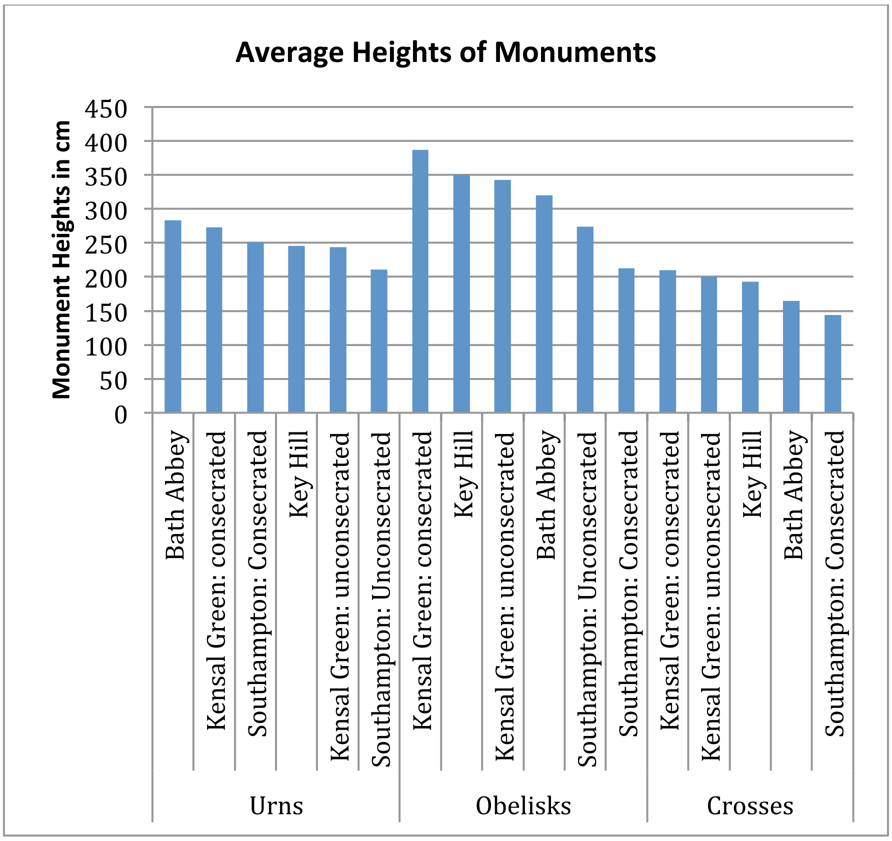


Figure 6.45 Average heights of different monuments types at Bath Abbey, Southampton, Kensal Green and Key Hill.

The feature that most clearly differentiates Kensal Green (consecrated section) is the larger range of monument sizes there (Figure 6.46). Just as there was a handful of much larger monuments in Bath Abbey, so are too there a number of very tall monuments at Kensal Green. Some of these also have large bases, which result in calculations of very large volumes (Figure 6.47). This suggests that, although the majority of those using the site chose monuments of a scale similar to those used by people surveyed at the other sites, there was a minority of site users who erected very large memorials. This might be thought to correspond with the greater variation at Kensal Green in terms of servant employment; if servants are taken as an indication of economic status (regional variation in practice aside) then, if those erecting larger monuments also tended to employ servants, monument size might, after all, be an articulation of financial status. This is not, however, the case. As Figure 6.48 indicates, there is only a very weak correlation between these variables. This might, of course, be because of the fallibility of servant employment as an indicator of wealth, but it seems more likely that, as Buckham found in York, it is not the case that monument use was determined by economic status (2000).

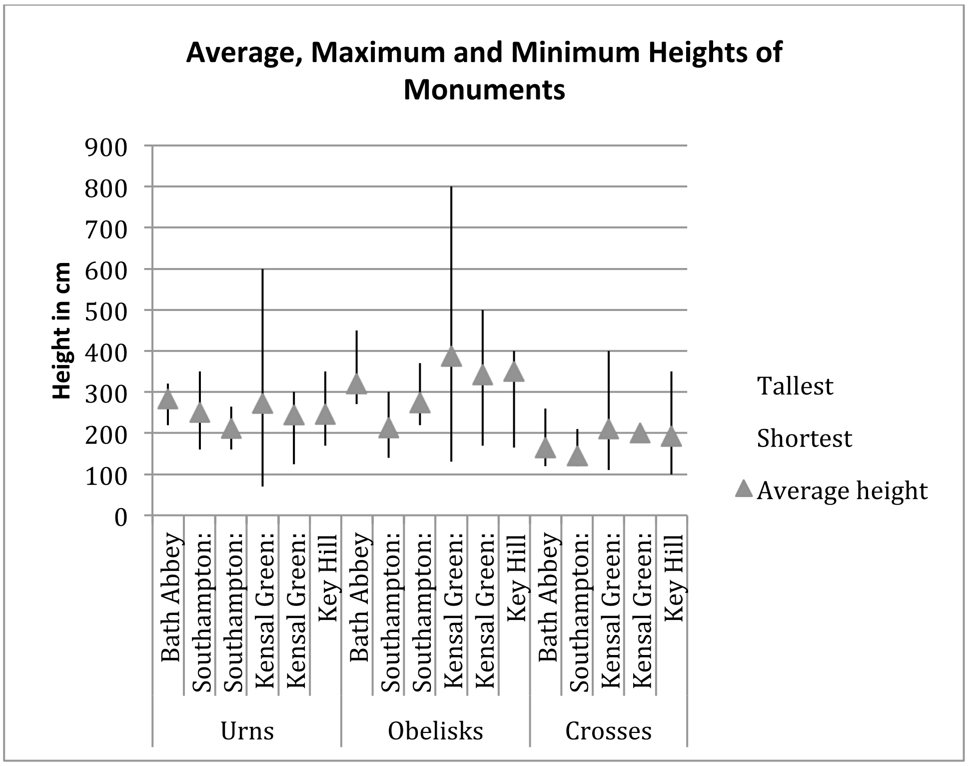


Figure 6.46 Maximum, minimum and average heights of monuments at Bath Abbey, Southampton, Kensal Green and Key Hill.

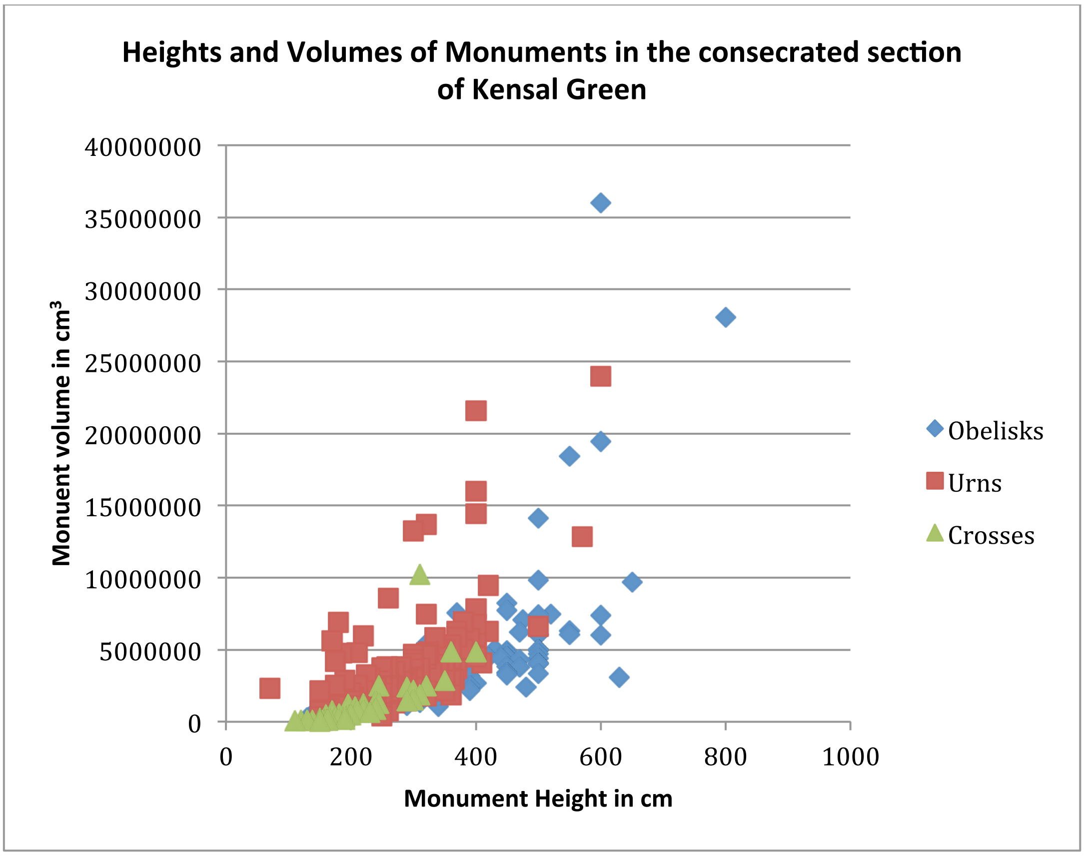


Figure 6.47 Heights and volumes of surveyed monuments in the consecrated section of Kensal Green.

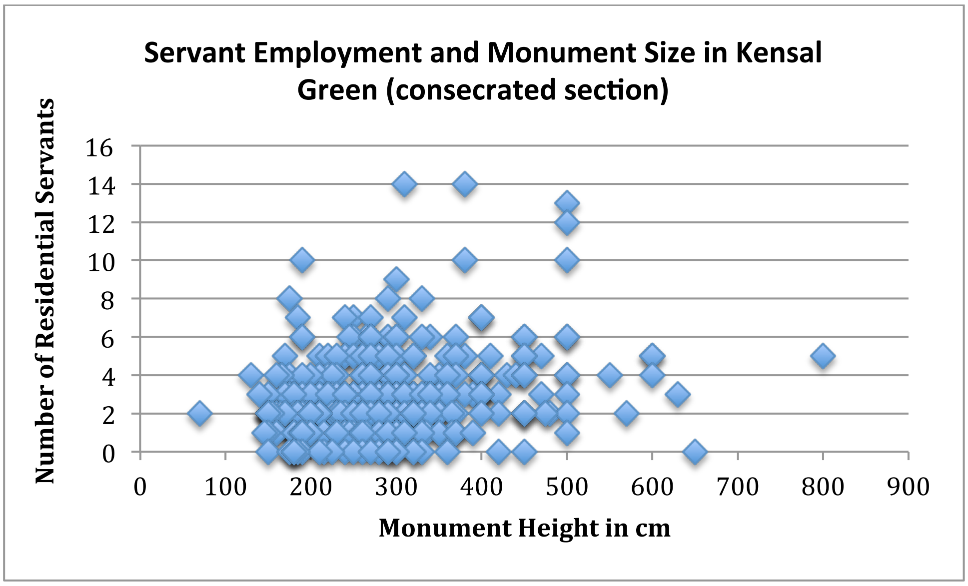


Figure 6.48 Comparison of servant employment and monument size in the sample from the consecrated section of Kensal Green.

Relationships

As at Bath Abbey, monuments initially dedicated to spouses dominate at Kensal Green and Key Hill. At none of these sites does extra-familial commemoration features as strongly as at Southampton. At Key Hill the number of monuments initially dedicated to wives outstrips the number initially dedicated to husbands, but overall the gender balance is fairly equal. The one unusual feature in these samples is the high number of monuments dedicated to multiple family members in the Kensal Green sample, and the small, but present, number of pre-purchased vaults. These will be discussed in chapter seven. There is no indication at either site that any monument form was used preferentially in the commemoration of any particular relationship, or that the sizes of monuments varied with the relationships that they were initially erected to commemorate.

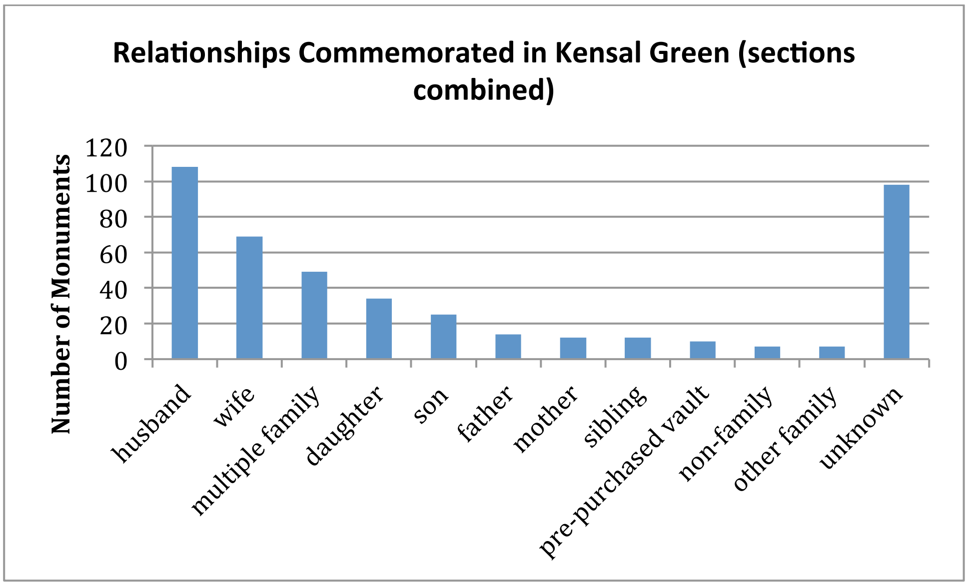


Figure 6.49 Number of surveyed monuments initially dedicated to different relationships in Kensal Green, both sections counted together.

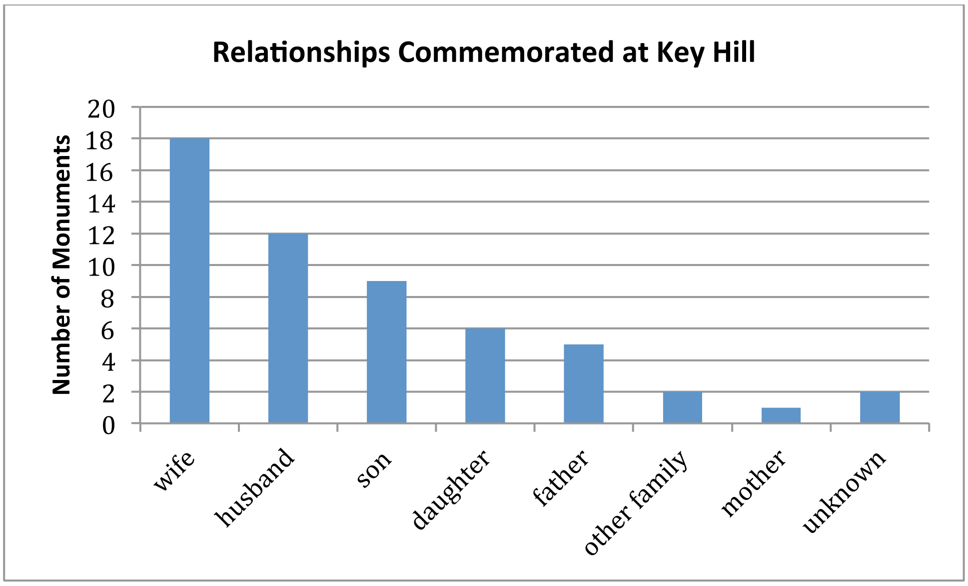


Figure 6.50 Number of surveyed monuments initially dedicated to different relationships in Key Hill.

Religious Differentiation in the use of Monument Forms

As Buckham (2008:166-7) has noted, religious distinction is one of the most clearly inscribed variables marked on the cemetery landscape, either through the overall designation of the site, or the division of the site. It is also an often-cited influence on commemorative practice, with the commemorative practices of Nonconformists and Anglicans broadly assumed to correlate to the assumed religious associations of different architectural styles (Burgess 1963; McGuire 1988:44; Brooks 1989, Curl 2000). However, the extent to which the commemorative choices of individuals burying their dead in different sites co-varied with these apparent associations has not been extensively studied, particularly in relation to the way in which religious difference was articulated in the overall structure of the site.

At York Cemetery, where Buckham's (2008:166) work is focused, there was no discernible difference between the practices in the Anglican and Nonconformist sections, but Roman Catholics used decorated cross monuments more frequently than members of other religious groups. This latter pattern she interprets as meaning that decorated crosses were used to "denote Roman Catholicism" (ibid:167), but she does not explore how this practice might have developed within the landscape; were Roman Catholic monuments explicitly identified as such, or located within a specific area so that the association could be discerned simply through interacting with the commemorative landscape, or was it the result of a close-knit community in which any given family would likely be aware of the monuments previously used by other members of their group as a result of familial and social ties? Only comparative studies can establish the extent to which such religious signifiers were "widely understood constructs or conventions that were both composed and meaningful at only a local level" (ibid:167). This is the case not only in relation to Roman Catholic decorated crosses, but regarding the Anglican/Nonconformist divide and commemorative variation.

At York Cemetery the denominational divide was only lightly inscribed in the landscape, and Buckham's (ibid:167) research indicated that a quarter of stones commemorating multiple individuals, commemorated denominationally mixed groups. Anglicans were not always buried in the consecrated section, and Nonconformists did not necessarily use the unconsecrated section. This suggests that, in a site where denominational difference was not presented as a significant feature, it was not treated as such by cemetery users, and that they would rather maintain family groups than religious differences. As the burial records at the sites studied in this project did not directly record the denominational identities of the dead, it is not possible to assess the extent to which religiously mixed burials took place, but it is worth remembering that the religious structure of cemeteries laid down by their founders was not necessarily adhered to by cemetery users. Those undertaking commemoration in denominationally ambiguous landscapes did not necessarily respond by attempting to differentiate their choices from those erecting monuments in the opposing section (where it could be discerned). This contrasts to Mytum's (2002a) work in Pembrokeshire, where religiously bounded sites, in which the denominational identity of the group was clearly defined, were associated with distinct commemorative landscapes. Is this applicable more broadly: that in interdenominational sites religious variation in commemoration will tend to be less pronounced than in single use sites, and that in interdenominational sites in which the boundary between the groups is less strongly marked difference will be less than in sites where it is emphasised?

The four sites introduced so far provide a set of contexts in which the interrelationship between site structure and denominational variation in commemorative practice can be examined. Looking at the relative proportions of urns, obelisks and Gothic crosses in the different sites, and in the case of Kensal Green and Southampton in their different sections, it is clear that there was a significant degree of variation (Figure 6.51 and Figure 6.52).

	Urns	Obelisks	Gothic crosses
Bath Abbey (consecrated)	6	10	23
Southampton (consecrated)	11	9	9
Key Hill (unconsecrated)	29	9	17
Kensal Green (consecrated)	249	101	27
Kensal Green (unconsecrated)	15	8	1
Southampton (unconsecrated)	6	6	0

Figure 6.51 Compositions of the samples from the four sites, in terms of the numbers of urns, obelisks and Gothic crosses.

The Bath Abbey sample contained proportionally far more Gothic crosses than any of the others, there being more crosses than urns and obelisks combined. This appears to confirm the expectation that commemoration in single-use sites conforms to denominational expectations of memorial preferences. However, the site with the third highest proportion of Gothic cross memorials is Key Hill, which is entirely Nonconformist. When the relative proportions of crosses and urns/obelisks are compared across sites using the Fisher's exact test, it becomes clear that there is no straightforward relationship between greater denominational separation, either through the arrangement of space within shared spaces or the provision of separate sites, and increased religious differentiation in commemoration.

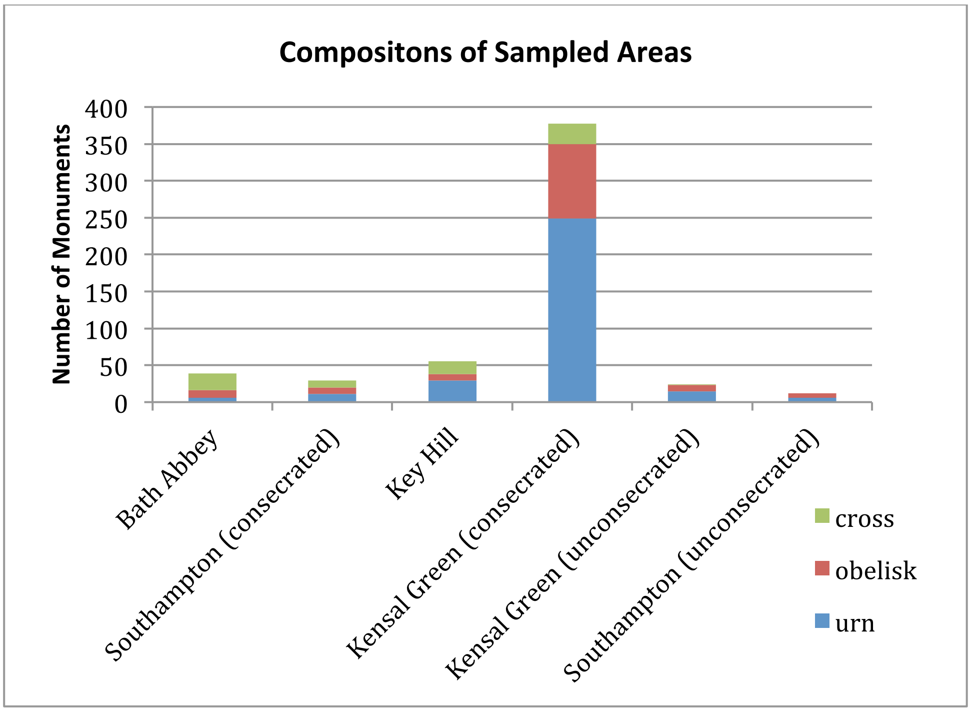


Figure 6.52 Compositions of the samples from the four sites discussed thus far.

Kensal Green and Southampton are considered first. When Gothic cross use was compared between consecrated and unconsecrated sections of Kensal Green using the Fisher's exact test, the difference was not found to be significant. The significance (two-sided) was found to be 1.00 (see appendix 2.11). In contrast, when the two sections of Southampton were compared, the (two-sided) significance was found to be 0.039 (see appendix 2.12), which indicates significance. This runs contrary to the tentative hypothesis that a more sharply divided landscape might be associated with greater differentiation in practice. At Kensal Green, as has been discussed, the unconsecrated section was sharply divided from the consecrated section with an iron railing, and was literally tacked on to the site late in the planning process. The number of Gothic crosses erected in the consecrated section was so low, only 27 securely dated to the surveyed period, that even though only a single such monument was erected in the unconsecrated section, the difference between the sections was not significant. At Southampton, on the other hand, where the distinction between the consecrated and unconsecrated sections is difficult to discern unless the visitor has a map (Figure 6.53), the commemorative practices of the site's users, and therefore the commemorative landscape that they created, inscribed different religious identities into their respective spaces. While those in the consecrated section would use Gothic cross monuments as readily as urns or obelisks, no ringed, flared, or finialed crosses were erected by users of the unconsecrated section.

Figure 6.53 A pathway in Southampton Cemetery, showing the consecrated section on the left and the unconsecrated on the right. There is no indication that this path, rather than any other, forms part of the boundary between the sections. (Photograph: author, 2013.)

Two aspects of these patterns of use are worth emphasising. Firstly, there is the question of how to interpret the differential use (or non-use) of Gothic crosses in Southampton. They could be taken as an indication that certain members of the Anglican community there sympathised with Ecclesiological views and, like the Reverend Carter (1842:9), had "pious and thoughtful minds [that] are no longer contented with the heathenish tombs and monuments which have, alas, for so long a period profaned and disgraced our Churches and Churchyards". This is possible, although not demonstrable, and it should be noted that all nine of the crosses were erected in the later 1850s and 1860s, by which time the use of Gothic architecture was more broadly accepted beyond Ecclesiological spheres, and was not necessarily a rebuke to those using other monument forms. What is clear is that this was not an oppositional set of monument practices; it does not seem plausible that Gothic crosses were used in the consecrated section because they were *not* used in the unconsecrated section, nor that they were avoided in the unconsecrated section because they *were* used in the consecrated section. Such oppositional usage would be predicated on the monumental body being readily divisible into *us* and *them,* which it is not. This does not mean, however, that the use of Gothic crosses in the consecrated area did not develop through the interaction of monument erectors with the emerging commemorative landscape. The eight Gothic crosses are located in two areas of the cemetery. Within these two areas the relevant monuments are not inter-visible but this may be due to the current amount of vegetation. They are sufficiently close to one another, however, that it is likely that the erector of each would have been aware of those already standing in the area. This is especially the case with the more northerly group, which is more tightly focused than those found to the southwest of the Anglican chapel (Figure 6.54). It is possible that their usage is the result of both a greater tendency amongst Anglicans (than Nonconformists) to sympathise with increasingly mainstream Ecclesiological type views regarding the greater piety of Gothic monuments, *and* the influence that seeing similar monuments used near to where they were burying their kin had on what they considered to be available, and appropriate, options. These are not either/or options, but a potentially intertwined set of influences and significances.

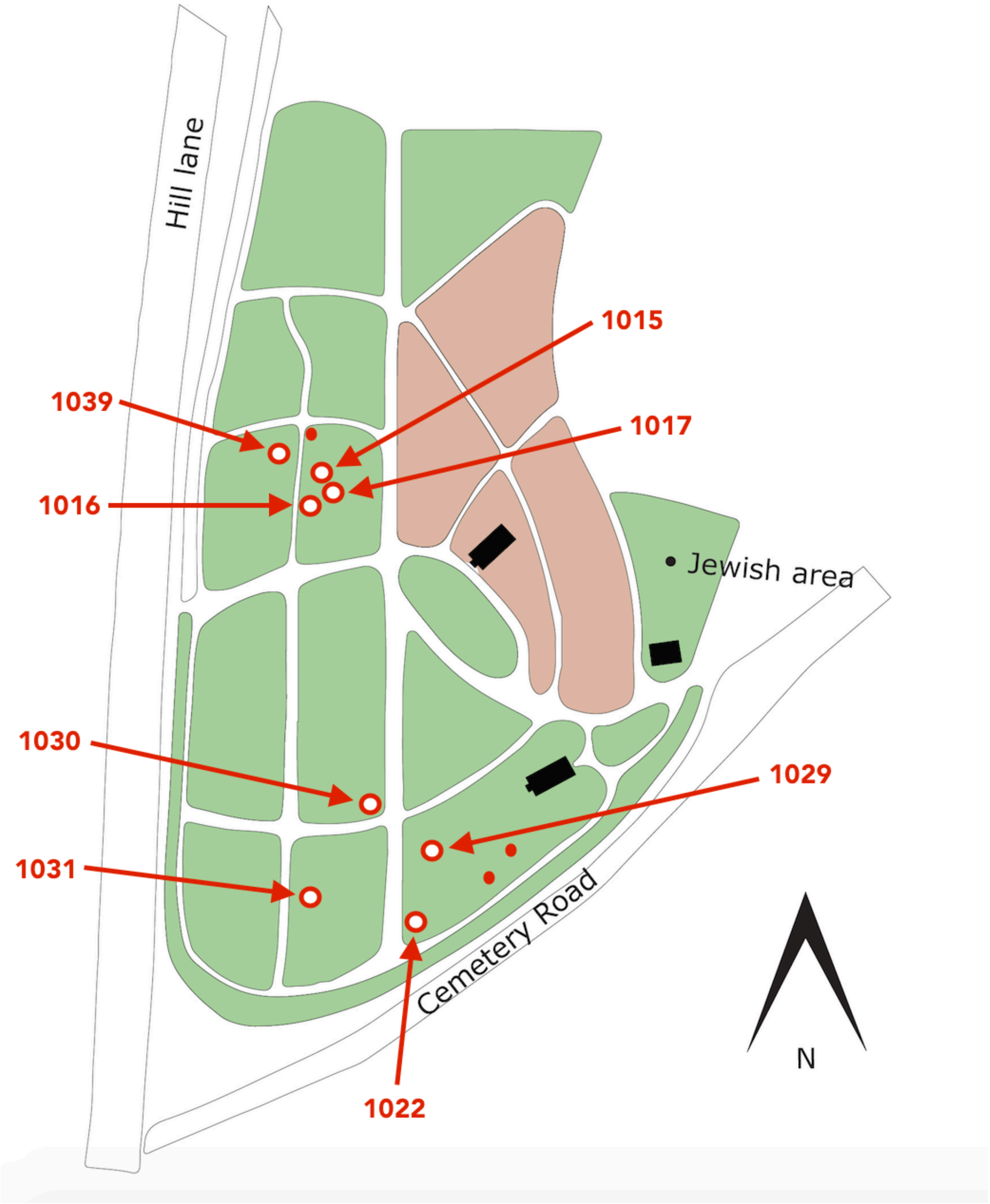


Figure 6.54 Map of Southampton Cemetery showing the positions of the eight Gothic cross monuments within the cemetery, the smaller marks are illegible Gothic crosses that cannot be dated but which *could* date to within the surveyed period.

Secondly, the single Gothic cross in the unconsecrated section of Kensal Green is, on further investigation, indicative of the variation within Nonconformity which renders a straightforward binary between commemoration in consecrated and unconsecrated space problematic. As was discussed earlier, different Nonconforming denominations adopted Gothic Revival architecture with differing degrees of enthusiasm, and Unitarians in particular were quick to adopt the style (Stell 2000:323). It is not surprising, then, that the single Gothic cross erected in the unconsecrated section of Kensal Green likely belonged to a Unitarian. The monument, number 0002, was erected for Edward Rigby, who died in 1860, and is a small finialed cross decorated with five six-pointed stars, standing on a solid granite pedestal base (Figure 6.55 and Figure 6.56). Both of Rigby's wives were dead by this time, so it is likely that his adult daughters erected the monument. Rigby was a well-known obstetrician, and according to Kensal Green's burial records, one Thomas Madge performed his funeral service. Although the ministers who officiated at burials in Kensal Green were recorded, their denominational affiliations were not, and these were often difficult to trace, but the denominational identity of Madge was easily identified, as he had been minister of the Essex Street Chapel (just south of the Strand in London) which was the parent church of Unitarianism. As was discussed earlier in this chapter, Unitarians had a somewhat ambivalent relationship with the more established Trinitarian Nonconformist denominations, partly as a result of legal disputes regarding chapel ownership in the 1840s, and had adopted Gothic architecture for several of the chapels they built in the aftermath of this dispute. The decision of Rigby's family to use a monument comprised partly of a finialed cross was therefore likely to be related to their specific denominational identity, although there is no way of knowing, without a broader survey of the unconsecrated section of the cemetery, and a thorough investigation of the denominational identities of the other monument erectors already surveyed, whether this choice was typical of Unitarians. Certainly it serves to remind us of the multivalence of such forms, and the range of ways in which they may resonate for different users. Bearing this in mind, it is difficult to conceive of Nonconformist and Anglican commemorative practices as two monolithic, and potentially opposed, entities.

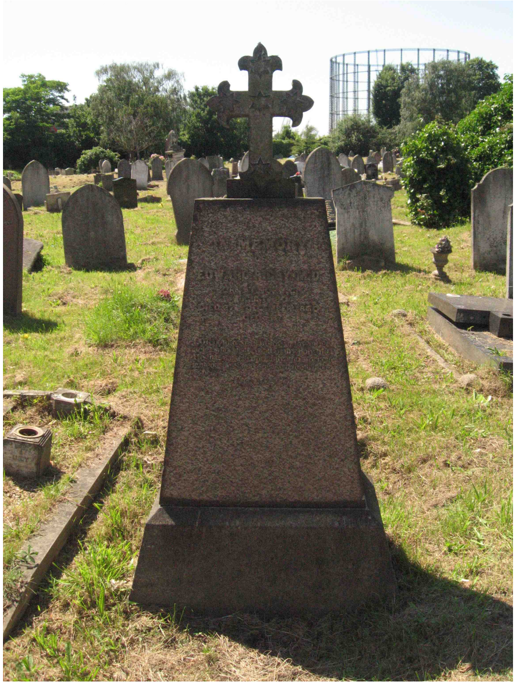


Figure 6.55 Monument 0002 (Kensal Green Cemetery, unconsecrated section) dedicated to Edward Rigby, who died in 1860. (Photograph: author, 2012.)

Figure 6.56 Detail of monument 0002 (Kensal Green Cemetery, unconsecrated section), showing the four stars relief-carved into the finialed cross. (Photograph: author, 2012.)

Indeed, comparing the use of these different monument types between sites, it becomes clear that generalising about denominational variation is not possible. The relative compositions of the samples were found to vary to a statistically significant degree in most cases. The six areas in the four sites were compared, making 15 comparisons (Figure 6.57), and eleven of these were found to vary statistically significantly (Figure 6.58). Of the six Fisher's exact test comparisons of denominationally similar areas (insofar as either consecrated or unconsecrated areas are denominationally homogeneous), five indicated that the samples were significantly different. When cross-denominational comparisons are made, three of the nine tests resulted in indications of statistical significance. This means that the denominationally similar sites were only slightly more likely to contain similar ratios of Gothic crosses to urn and obelisk monuments.

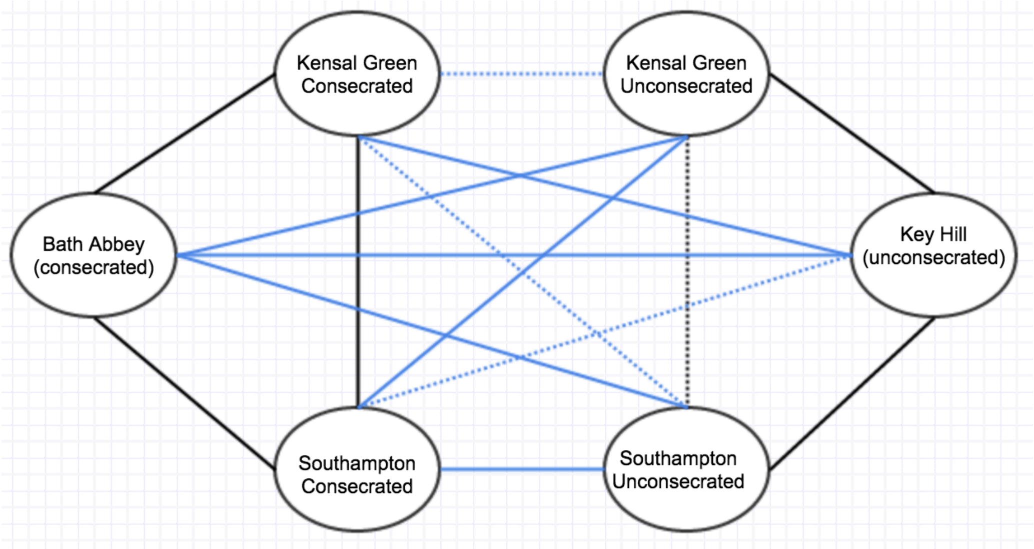


Figure 6.57 Diagram showing the statistical comparisons between sites. Interdenominational comparisons are shown in blue, comparisons between areas that are either both consecrated or both unconsecrated are in black. Dashed lines indicate that no statistically significant difference between the compositions of samples was identified.

Comparison of denominationally similar areas		P value (two-sided significance)	Appendix
Kensal Green (consecrated)	Bath Abbey	0.000	2.13
Kensal Green (consecrated)	Southampton (consecrated)	0.000	2.14
Kensal Green (unconsecrated)	Southampton (unconsecrated)	**1.000**	2.15
Kensal Green (unconsecrated)	Key Hill	0.009	2.16
Southampton (unconsecrated)	Key Hill	0.028	2.17
Bath Abbey	Southampton (consecrated)	0.029	2.18
Comparisons of denominationally distinct areas			
Kensal Green (consecrated)	Kensal Green (unconsecrated)	**1.000**	2.11
Southampton (consecrated)	Southampton (unconsecrated)	0.039	2.12
Kensal Green (consecrated)	Key Hill	0.000	2.19
Southampton (consecrated)	Key Hill	**1.000**	2.20
Bath Abbey	Key Hill	0.011	2.21
Bath Abbey	Southampton (unconsecrated)	0.000	2.22
Bath Abbey	Kensal Green (unconsecrated)	0.000	2.23
Kensal Green (unconsecrated)	Southampton (consecrated)	0.015	2.24
Kensal Green (consecrated)	Southampton (unconsecrated)	**1.000**	2.25

Figure 6.58 Table showing the comparisons between monument usage at the different sections of the different sites and the results of the Fisher's exact test for each. The appendices where details of each calculation can be found are indicated.

Three further features of these results are striking. Firstly, while all of the other assemblages are similar to at least one other sample, the composition of the surveyed material at Bath Abbey was found to contain so many crosses that it was statistically dissimilar to all of the other areas, including the other consecrated burial spaces. One possibility could be that as Gothic cross-monuments in Bath Abbey were somewhat smaller on average than urn and obelisk monuments (Figure 5.19), the high number of these monuments was a consequence of the site having a less wealthy clientele than others. This is not, however, borne out in either the occupational or servant employment data (Figure 6.42). Indeed, the households erecting Gothic cross-monuments in Bath Abbey Cemetery tended to employ *more* residential servants than those households erecting other monument types; servant employment data was available for 15 of the 23 households erecting Gothic cross-monuments, and these households employed, on average, three residential servants, which is a little more than the average for the sample as a whole.

Alternatively, then, the high rate of Gothic crosses could be taken as an indication that Cannon's (2005:45) assessment that the earliest adopters of Gothic memorials were "higher-status members of rural communities", especially farming families and the clergy, and that "[i]ndividuals from higher status groups were the fashion-conscious leaders who adopted Gothic monument styles nearer to the time when they were initially introduced". The users of Bath Abbey cemetery cannot be considered rural, however, given that most lived in the city, and none were farmers, and only a handful were clergy. If their 'higher status', and consequently apparently greater ability to detect and follow emerging fashions in commemoration is the reason for the high number of Gothic cross-monuments in the sample, then the question follows as to why the consecrated section of Kensal Green has so few such monuments. Furthermore, the reduction of commemoration to the pursuit of fashion is an unnecessarily and unhelpfully reductive approach, as was discussed previously.

A further possibility, which would be worthy of further research, is that although Bath Abbey Cemetery was very much established in the landscape and organisational mode of a cemetery (as was discussed earlier), it was also much closer to an extension of the parish church's burial ground than any of the other sites in this project, having a specific and direct relationship with Bath Abbey. It may be the case that the higher rates of Gothic memorial erection were typical of

Church of England facilities but, to the author's knowledge, little work has been done in comparing contemporaneous commemorative practices in Church of England burial grounds and the consecrated areas of cemeteries. Other factors may have included the presence locally of a monumental mason who was particularly known for these monuments, it is difficult to assess this as so few of the monuments at this site bore masons' marks. There is no indication, however, that these monuments were made by a single mason.

The sample from Key Hill Cemetery also contains an unusually high proportion of Gothic cross monuments, having proportionally more than any of the other unconsecrated samples, from which it differs to a statistically significant extent. The only sample from which the Key Hill assemblage is statistically indistinguishable is that from the consecrated section of Southampton Cemetery. It is worth bearing in mind that, if anything, the ratio of Gothic cross memorials to urns and obelisks should be lower in Key Hill than elsewhere because of the monument burials that took place in the later 20th century, which affected tablet monuments more than pedestal ones. There may, possibly, have been *more* Gothic crosses originally.

One factor could be the denominational make-up of the site, as different congregations might have differing practices and preferences. There may have been a preponderance of Unitarians, which would not have been surprising given the prominence of the Unitarian Old Meeting House in the local Nonconformist community by the 1830s. Without examining the original burial registers and individually tracing the ministers who officiated at each funeral (the digitised versions do not contain the names of officiating ministers), it is not possible to assess the denominational composition of the sample. However, a survey of the 'lesser known burial grounds of Birmingham' undertaken by Dr Richard Hetherington during the 1950s, which included research into the religious compositions of different sites, suggested that Key Hill was predominantly used by Baptists (a summary of Hetherington's work is available courtesy of the Birmingham and Midland Society for Genealogy and Heraldry at http://www.bmsgh.org/TYAIB/BurialGrounds.pdf). This is somewhat surprising, as, at least in the realm of chapel construction, Gothic remained out of favour among Baptist congregations up to the 1850s; the *Baptist Magazine* claimed in 1850 that “a Gothic edifice cannot be … an outward and visible sign of that simplicity which ought to characterise religious services under the Christian dispensation” (quoted in Stell 2000:321).

One possibility is that Hetherington’s assessment of the denominational make-up of the site’s users was incorrect, or that the site users choosing to erect Gothic crosses were not Baptists. Alternatively, it might be the case that the commemorative practices of denomination members did not match the preferences of those erecting chapels. A third possibility is that, given that the majority of these memorials dated to the late 1850s and 1860s, Baptists’ attitudes towards Gothic architecture might have shifted during the 1850s, perhaps thanks to Ruskin’s efforts at dissociating Gothic designs from their High Church roots (Brooks 1980). Teasing out the relative weights of these possibilities is not possible based on the information currently available within this study and would require further research, but it makes it clear that attempting to generalise the commemorative practices of Nonconformists at one site to another, or trace a consistent difference between commemoration in consecrated and unconsecrated space is not possible.

This point is reinforced once more by the observation that the composition of the sample from the consecrated section of Kensal Green is statistically more similar to the unconsecrated section of Southampton Cemetery and the unconsecrated section of its own site than to any of the consecrated areas (Figure 6.58). Overall, the comparison of the monument samples from consecrated and unconsecrated spaces discourages attempts at generalisations. The site with the most pronounced ‘Anglican’ practices was a single-use Anglican site (Bath Abbey), suggesting that possession of a dedicated and clearly demarcated denominational space might be associated with more strongly denominationally specific practices. However, the unconsecrated space with the least typical ‘Nonconformist’ assemblage was also a single-use (unconsecrated) site, which confounds this formulation. Furthermore, of the two mixed-use sites, it was the one with the *less* clearly defined boundary that exhibited variation in commemorative practice. There is too much local variation to generalise denominationally varied practices, but this is not to suggest that religious identity was not a factor in the development of commemorative practice. As was seen in Southampton in the extra-familial commemoration of merchant seamen, denominational identity was one of many intertwining threads that made up these practices, and it is not easily separated from these. The articulation and experience of denominational identity in times of mourning does not take place outside of, above, or beyond the other elements that make such a period, and the commemoration it entails, meaningful. It cannot, therefore, easily be generalised away from the specific local communities that created each memorial landscape.

The Extra-Familial Commemoration of Ministers in the Glasgow Necropolis.

This intertwining is illustrated once more in the distinct commemorative practices associated with Ministers in the Glasgow Necropolis sample. The denominational distinctions applied to the other four samples do not apply in the same way to the Scottish sample, as the religious context of the site was so different (this will be presented in more detail in the next chapter). It provides a useful comparative example, however, in illustrating that religious identities can become inscribed into the commemorative landscape not only through the differential selection of monument types, but through particular forms of commemoration, forms of commemoration that might be regionally, and denominationally specific. Ministers were the only occupational group in the Glasgow Necropolis sample to receive extra-familial commemoration, and the frequency with which it occurred was statistically significant when compared with the commemoration of non-ministers (see appendix 2.26). Furthermore, this practice was focused specifically around Nonconforming Ministers rather than members of the established Church. Although the Bath Abbey and Kensal Green samples contained monuments dedicated to ministers, this pattern of commemoration was not seen at either site. It can therefore be concluded that it is likely a practice specific to the Nonconforming denominations of Scotland.

Twenty families in the Glasgow Necropolis sample were headed by ministers. Thirteen of these belonged to dissenting Presbyterian churches: the United Secession Church, the Free Church of Scotland, the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland, and the Reformed Presbyterian Church of Scotland. A quarter (five) belonged to the established Church (the Church of Scotland) and the final two were members of other denominations (one minister of the Scottish Episcopal Church and a Wesleyan minister (Figure 6.59). This spread covers much of the denominational diversity existing within the city during the middle of the 19th century, and the fact that United Presbyterians comprise the single largest group resonates with Nenadic's (1996:288) observation that this was the most popular church in the city during this period. Likewise, the preponderance of dissenting Presbyterians is unsurprising as by 1851 members of these groups significantly outnumbered those attending worship in the Church of Scotland (Trainor 1996:243).

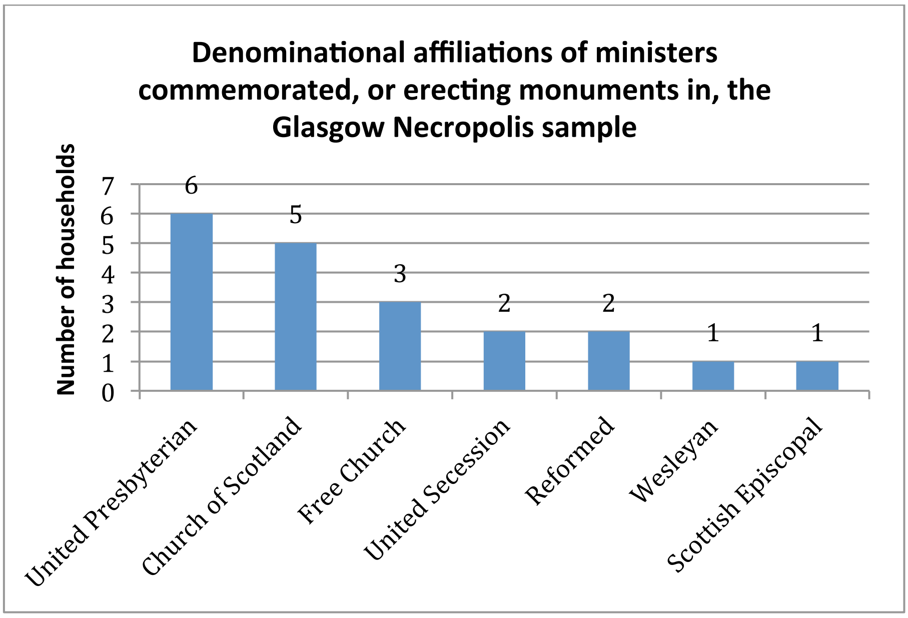


Figure 6.59 Denominational affiliations of ministers commemorated, or erecting monuments in, the Glasgow Necropolis sample.

Absent from the sample are the Catholics of Glasgow, who by the middle of the century were a considerable minority within the city. These were primarily Irish Catholics, many of who were first-generation arrivals, a group that made up 13% of the Glasgow population by 1881 (Kenefick 2004:224). It is unclear whether the Catholic population was permitted to consecrate their individual lairs (the Scottish term for burial plots) within the Necropolis, but this practice would have become obsolete in any case after the Catholic burial ground opened at St Mary's in Abercromby Street in 1839, the first of its kind in Glasgow since the Reformation (Scott 2000:54). Also absent from the sample is Glasgow's Jewish population, which was small but growing during the surveyed period (Kenefick 2004:218). Although a section of the Necropolis belonged to the community, no grave-markers remain today for survey, possibly as the result of a small landslip. It seems unlikely, however, based on the analogous (and undisturbed) Jewish section within Southampton Cemetery, that any of the monument forms with which this study is concerned would have been found in the Jewish section, had it remained intact.

Of the 20 households headed by ministers, six erected monuments commemorating the loss of someone other than the head of the household (Figure 6.60). Two ministers erected monuments for their mothers, one memorial was for a daughter, and three were for multiple family members (the prevalence of this practice is discussed in chapter seven). The remaining 14 monuments were erected initially for the Minister himself. In two instances the individual or individuals who likely erected the monument cannot be identified, and in a further four cases a wife survived the minister and it is therefore assumed that she was responsible for the memorial as no other erector is mentioned in the inscribed dedication. This leaves eight cases in which the monument was stated, in its inscription, as having been erected by non-family members.

Relationship	Monument Number
Friend/Colleague	3256, 3445, 3342, 3169, 3266, 3183, 3022, 3353
Husband	3050, 3400, 3232, 3010
Multiple family	3346, 3220, 3250
Mother	3176, 3035*
Daughter	3403
Unknown	3246, 3161**

Figure 6.60 Table showing the relationships commemorated by monuments erected by or families headed by ministers. *3035 was erected jointly be two brothers, only one of who was a Minister. ** In both cases the Minister was the primary commemorative subject.

If we exclude the two monuments for which the relationship between the subject and the erector is unknown, eight out of 18 memorials connected to religious officials were the result of extra-familial commemoration. This is statistically significant when compared to the frequency of extra-familial commemoration in the rest of the sample; when analysed using the Fisher's exact test the (two-sided) P value for this comparison was 0.000, meaning that it is unlikely to be the result of random distribution (see appendix 2.26).

Looking in more detail at the extra-familial monuments, several observations can be made. Firstly, in no instance is a monument erected for a minister when a member of their family had already been interred and a monument erected. This is demonstrated by the fact that five of the six monuments initially dedicated to members of a minister's family also mark the subsequent resting place of the minister himself, and none were re-erected upon his death, while conversely, all of the extra-familial monuments stand over lairs initially occupied by the minister himself. Communal commemoration was therefore not used to replace an existing stone with a specifically dedicated monument, disrupting the existing commemorative fabric of the family. This suggests that, in this setting, extra-familial commemoration was not simply intended as a public mark of respect to the deceased minister, as congregations did not step in to improve existing familial monuments or alter them so that the minister's name would have prime position. Rather, it may have been a means of expressing the same respect by helping the minister's newly bereaved, headless, and possibly income-less family, to acquire the proper materials for commemoration.

This impression, that those undertaking the communal commemoration of ministers were sensitive towards the involvement of the family, is reinforced by the fact that three quarters (six out of eight) of the communally erected monuments were subsequently used as familial memorials. The public origin of the monument does not seem, in these instances, to impede its subsequent private use. This kind of familial re-use is also seen in three of the extra-familial monuments for mariners in Southampton (all of which were plots that contained bodies, rather than cenotaphs), and suggests that in both settings the boundary between communal and familial was porous, and that the realm in which a monument was significant could be simultaneously familial and public, and could at different times occupy more important roles in one or the other context.

Nor were monuments necessarily *either* erected by family or non-family; commemoration could be a collaborative practice, as is indicated by the memorial dedicated to James Robertson, D.D., which was erected by the joint effort of his family and congregation. James Robertson, D.D., had been the minister of Shamrock Street United Presbyterian Church in north-west Glasgow for about a decade when he died in 1861, aged 58 (Small 1904:77). He had been the first minister of that congregation, and when he died, the monument over his plot was "ERECTED BY HIS FAMILY AND CONGREGATION IN AFFECTIONATE REMEMBRANCE" (see Figure 6.61). The memorial traverses the boundary between his private (familial) and public (ministerial) life, and suggests that this boundary may not have been strongly articulated with regards to commemorative activity. When Robertson's wife Helen died in 1900 she joined him in the lair, and her name was added to the inscription.

Figure 6.61 Monument 3342, dedicated to James Robertson, D.D., who died 1861. (Photograph: author, 2013.)

Another illustration of this porous boundary is the monument of John Dick (1764-1833, monument 3266). Dick was the minister of Greyfriars United Secession Church and Theological Professor to the Associate Synod, and it is known that although his monument was erected by his congregation, the plot had been bought by his family (Scott 2005:130). How the financial burden of these two elements (the plot and the monument) was divided in other examples is not known, but the familial ownership of the plot would presumably justify the subsequent use of the lair by the family. In this regard, it is telling that even when family members did not join a minister in his communally marked plot, the monument was not re-used (as in Southampton) for the commemoration of another unrelated minister. These monuments might be intimately connected with the occupational identity of the deceased, but they belonged in a very individual way, to the deceased themselves (and their families) and not to that broader occupational group. It should be noted, however, that the re-use of extra-familial monuments for mariners was only undertaken in one case, and that the monument was a cenotaph.

These three observations – that a communally erected memorial was never re-used by a congregation or church to commemorate a second minister; that communal commemoration was never undertaken in a way which would disrupt prior familial commemoration; and that in three-quarters of cases communally erected monuments were converted into familial memorials – suggest that the commemoration of a minister by his congregation was undertaken with a significant degree of sensitivity towards the prior, contemporaneous, and subsequent involvement of the family in commemoration, perhaps more so than in the case of mariners monuments in Southampton. One reason for this could be the more intimate relationship between a minister's family and the congregation than between a mariner's family and his Brother Engineers, simply as a consequence of consistent geographical and social proximity. Furthermore, a minister's family would often be intimately involved in the pastoral care of the congregation. This would be the case, however, for ministers of any denomination, but there are differences between the extra-familial commemoration of dissenting Presbyterian ministers, and Church of Scotland ministers, which suggests that communal commemoration was not simply defined by the broad contours of occupation, but was sensitive to denominational variation.

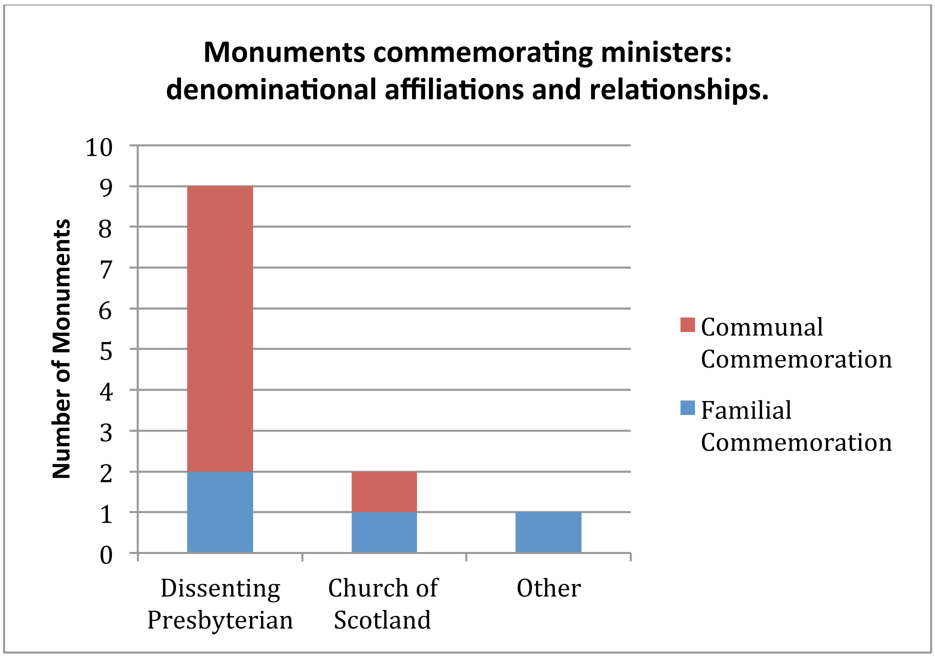


Figure 6.62 Graph showing the denominational affiliations of ministers who were primary commemorative subjects in Glasgow Necropolis sample, also indicating whether they were commemorated by their families or a wider extra-familial group.

Considering only those monuments that initially commemorated ministers (rather than their family members), seven of the nine monuments dedicated to dissenting Presbyterian ministers were communally erected (Figure 6.62). Only two Church of Scotland ministers were primary commemorative subjects, and only one of these was communally commemorated. One monument was erected to a Wesleyan Methodist, and this was erected by his family. While recognising the restrictions of the sample size and the problem it presents for making generalised statements, it does appear that dissenting Presbyterian ministers were more likely to be commemorated communally than those belonging to the established Church.

Furthermore, the only communally commemorated Church of Scotland minister, Duncan Macfarlan, (1771-1857, monument 3256, Figure 6.63) was a public figure beyond the church as much as within it, as a result of being the Principal of the University, as well as the minister of the High Church. His funeral was attended by an estimated 2500 people (*Glasgow Herald* 01/12/1857, issue 5849) and his monument was erected by a public subscription to which "all classes of the community cordially contributed" (the inscription on the monument records this). In contrast to this, among the seven communally commemorated dissenting Presbyterian ministers, four appear to have held no posts beyond their ministry, suggesting that these groups would undertake the commemoration of much less prestigious individuals, and without the help of the wider community.

Figure 6.63 Monument 3256, dedicated to Duncan Macfarlan who died in 1856, and erected by public subscription. (Photograph: author, 2013.)

One factor in the greater frequency of extra-familial commemoration within Nonconforming denominations might have been the practices and relationships established within these congregations as a result of seceding. Leaving the established Church meant finding accommodation for worship, funding ministers, and organising other aspects of congregational life, like Sunday Schools. Some denominations had split from the Church of Scotland in the 18th century, during the First and Second Secessions, subdividing and uniting into different formations over time. These were joined by a considerable portion of the ministers of the established Church, as a result of the Disruption of 1843, out of which the Free Church of Scotland was formed. Regardless of when they seceded, the continuing successful self-determination of these groups was necessarily achieved through self-reliance, and, as was the case with nonconformist congregations in Birmingham, much of this was based upon the ability of the group to mobilise funds and organise activity, often through subscription projects (Stephens 1964). This is not to suggest that dissenting Presbyterian groups had a monopoly on these kinds of experience and expertise as philanthropic projects blossomed throughout the 19th century on a similar basis (Flew 2015:20), and even profit-making schemes like joint-stock cemeteries utilised similar skills. In comparison to their Established equivalents, however, nonconforming denominations were far more experienced in the management of small-scale projects from inception to completion, including financing and reporting, to wit the Stockwell Free Church's annual accounts meeting on 20th March 1869, which took the form of a *soiree* at the Merchants' Hall, complete with tea, speeches and the publication of accounts, and which was reported in the *Glasgow Herald* (issue 9115).

As well as being more experienced in cooperative action, dissenting Presbyterian congregations often enjoyed very strong relationships with their ministers. Not only did these pastors undertake all of the pastoral tasks executed by ministers in the established Church, but they were also often instrumental in the establishment or consolidation of a congregation, sometimes literally overseeing its construction. Their ability to attract, retain, motivate and inspire a congregation was central to the success of a church. A good preacher might mean the repeated expansion of a church, as was the case with James Robertson's congregation at Shamrock Street United Presbyterian Church, of which he was the first minister. A bad minister might mean the gradual dissolution of a congregation. Even when ministers were not involved in the initial formation of a congregation, their role in its success was often keenly felt, as is demonstrated in the obituary of Alexander Ogilvie Beattie (1783-1858, monument 3445), who was minister of Gordon Street United Presbyterian Church from 1825 until his death: "[A]t the period of his induction, Gordon Street Church was in its infancy, and its membership was small; but in no long time under his ministry it became, and has ever since continued, one of the largest and most flourishing congregations in Glasgow. […] He was a model of a diligent pastor, indefatigable in his visitation of the sick, the aged, and infirm, and in his attention to the young" (*Glasgow Herald* 16/06/1858, issue 5933). A similar sentiment is evoked in the biography of John Maclaren (1824-1859, monument 3169) (Leys 1861:189). The relationship between minister and congregation was therefore strengthened by the extent to which the fate of the group was dependent on, and identified with, the abilities and efforts of the minister. As a result, ministers of dissenting Presbyterian congregations were therefore heads of groups likely to be both able and motivated to provide commemoration outside of more conventional familial frameworks.

This raises the question of whether the communal commemoration of ministers was specific to the Necropolis, and if this is not the case, whether the tentative distinction between established and dissenting congregations' practices is borne out elsewhere. None of the samples from unconsecrated sites in England contained any monuments dedicated to, or erected by, ministers, meaning that this question cannot be approached using the current body of data, and even if there were Nonconforming ministers in these samples, a comparative site from within Scotland would be much more relevant.

Figure 6.64 Monument 3266, dedicated to John Dick, D.D., Professor of theology at the United Secession Church, 1764-1833. The memorial was erected in 1838 by his congregation. The urn which sat beneath the canopy is now missing. (Photograph: author, 2012.)

Although these questions cannot be approached directly without further comparative study, there are a two observations that make it seem unlikely that the practice was specific to, or developed through the interaction of congregation members with, this site. Firstly, the number and distribution of the monuments erected communally for ministers, in comparison with the scale of the site, means that this was not a highly visible practice, save in the exceptional cases of the Dick (Figure 6.64) and Macfarlan (Figure 6.66) monuments. Only eight communally erected monuments dedicated to ministers were identified in this sample, distributed between six different compartments of the site, although these figures would likely be higher if all types of monuments were considered. There is also evidence, however, that not all communally erected monuments were marked as such, which would have further reduced the visibility of the practice. The congregation of West George Street Congregational Church erected a bust for their deceased minister Ralph Wardlaw (1779-1853) in 1858, but its inscription does not mention the involvement of the congregation. The association of ministers with communal commemoration is statistically significant but, unlike the commemoration of mariners in Southampton, it is not readily discernible 'on the ground', nor are they the only subjects of extra-familial commemoration in this setting. Whereas in Southampton this form of commemoration was restricted to one profession, individuals belonging to a variety of occupations are commemorated beyond their families in the Necropolis, from artists like Thomas Robertson (1823-1866, monument 3202) to civic-minded traders like David McGrigor (1780-1837, monument 3056), as well as a number of teachers. Site visitors would be unlikely, even if they were familiar with the cemetery's ever-changing landscape, to be able to discern the differentiated treatment of ministers by their congregations. This makes it seem more likely that the practice originated outside of the Necropolis, as does the observation that there is no association of the practice with a particular monument form. Unlike in Southampton, where communal monuments tend to contain obelisk elements, there is no statistically significant association of the extra-familial commemoration of ministers with any monument type. This suggests that the selection of the monument form was considered separately from the use to which it was being put, in terms of the distinction between familial and extra-familial/communal commemoration, and that these two elements were not as intimately linked as in the Southampton example.

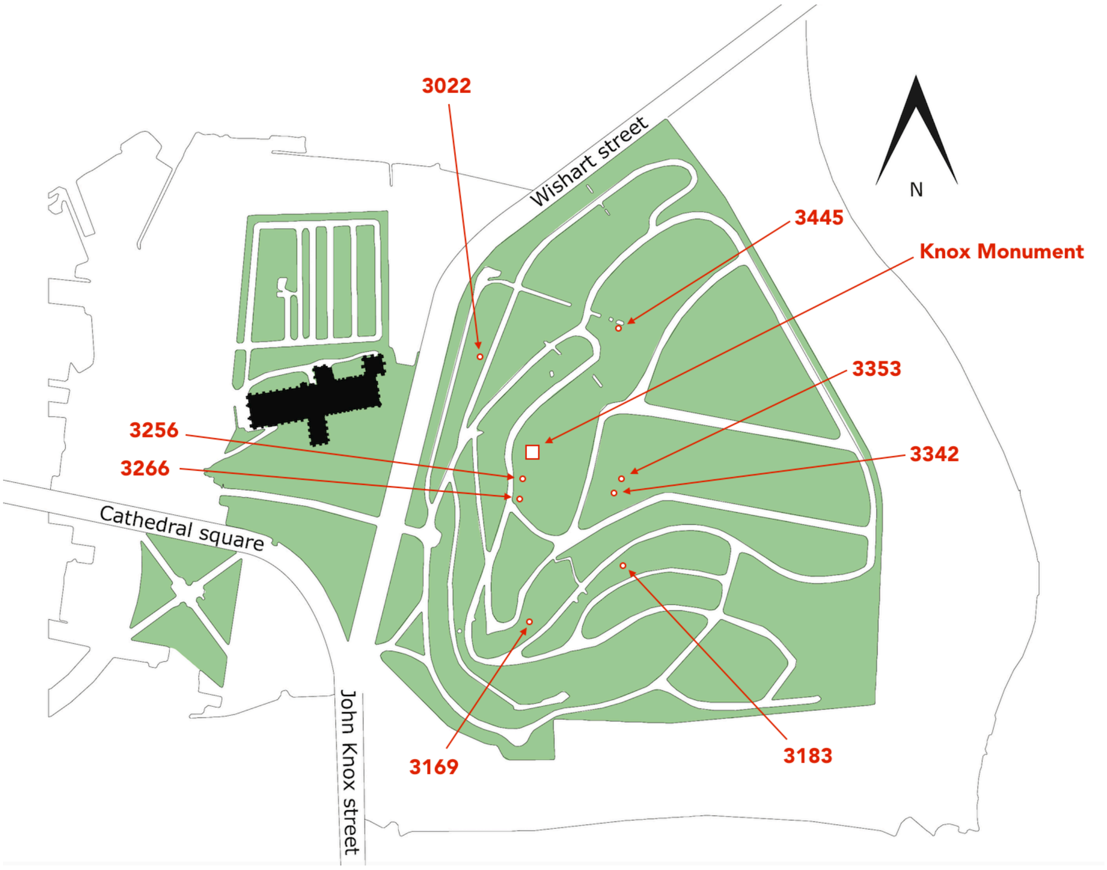


Figure 6.65 1895 Ordinance Survey Map of Glasgow, showing the Necropolis and the positions within this of the eight monuments dedicated to ministers by non-family groups.

That the communal commemoration of ministers developed outside of the cemetery is also suggested by some of the comments made in Blair's guide to the site, published in 1857 when only two of the communally erected monuments dedicated to ministers identified in this survey had been erected. Blair describes the process leading up to the erection of Ralph Wardlaw's monument in his guide to the Necropolis (which is how we know that it was funded by collections within the congregation, as this is not mentioned in the inscription), and this passage shines a broader light on the practice of ministerial commemoration. In 1857 there was still no monument over Wardlaw's grave, and Blair (1857:87) comments that it might be considered "a disgrace to Glasgow that no monument has yet been erected to the memory of this distinguished divine", but reassures his readers that "a very considerable sum has already been collected" (ibid:87) by Wardlaw's congregation, which "is wealthy, and is well qualified to raise the necessary funds without assistance" (ibid:87). He goes on, saying that there was a widely held misapprehension that the congregation was not accepting any donations from the public towards the monument, and had “resolved to reserve entirely to themselves the privilege of erecting a monument over the grave of their pastor” (ibid:87), which was not in fact the case, it being that they had simply not solicited for contributions, but would accept them, making it possible to “rear a truly magnificent structure” (ibid:87).

Before considering the implications of this passage regarding the commemoration of ministers more generally, it must be noted that Wardlaw was an unusual figure. He had entered Glasgow University at the age of twelve and was one of the first Congregationalists to make a mark on Glasgow. Preaching first on Albion Street, he moved to West George Street when his growing congregation needed more space, and in 1811 established a successful theological academy with fellow Congregationalist Greville Ewing (ibid:87, Chalmers 1875:492). His pursuit of “pure abstract truth” (Chalmers 1875:492), however, served to make him a controversial figure as well as a popular one, both within and beyond his denomination.

Having acknowledged his unusual status, Blair’s (1857:87) comments regarding his commemoration indicate certain expectations or precedents surrounding the commemoration of ministers. The collection of funds for commemoration by a congregation is not presented as unusual by Blair (ibid:87), and his description of the group as “well qualified to raise the necessary funds without assistance” suggests that this was not always the case. Even more telling is the apparent ease with which the rumour that the congregation was not accepting donations spread, simply because they did not “solicit contributions” (ibid:87). This suggests that the basic assumption was that the congregation would take responsibility for the commemoration, and define the terms upon which it would be achieved, requesting donations if they wished, or reserving the “privilege” to execute it alone, without input from the wider public. Wardlaw may have belonged to a comparatively small and unusual denomination but Blair’s confident assessment of the situation surrounding the erection of his monument suggests that these practices were more broadly known and applicable within other denominational settings. It is worth noting that Wardlaw was not without family; his wife (and cousin) Jane Smith, outlived him, surviving to “close his lifeless eyelids, and bewail his departure” (Chalmers

1875:491), along with "numerous" children (Blair 1857:95), but Blair makes no mention of their involvement (or non-involvement) in the commemorative process; the primacy of the congregation over the family in this arena elicited no surprise, commendation or condemnation. One factor in this may have been that Wardlaw's family was not financially equal to providing a monument suited to his professional and public stature, as he was not apparently well-paid by his professorship at the theological academy or for his ministerial post (Chalmers 1875:491). It is unclear, however, whether this possible disconnect between familial finances and public stature was common to all ministers, or whether it was particular to those who either belonged to small, expanding denominations, or who from their particular abilities and history attained an unusual degree of acclaim. It is also unclear whether the lack of familial funds was a central motivation for the commemoration of ministers by their congregations or groups of friends, but Blair's use of the word 'privilege' in relation to the communal commemoration of Wardlaw suggests that it was more than a means of ensuring the purchase of a fitting memorial. Furthermore, the instances in which the congregation's involvement is mentioned in the inscription indicates that their involvement was not considered a shameful admission of ministerial insolvency; rather it may have been read as an indication of the wealth and success of his charges.

On balance, then, it is likely that this specific pattern of extra-familial commemoration of ministers did not develop within the cemetery landscape, as with the communal commemoration in of mariners in Southampton, but was an established practice before and beyond its appearance there. Its origins may lie in the close relationship between minister and congregation, and the familiarity of these groups with funding their own projects, both of which might have been more pronounced in seceded churches than in the established Church. By 1857, Blair was able to describe the context surrounding the erection of one of these monuments without prefacing it with explanation, suggesting that it was not an unusual practice, despite there only being a handful of these monuments within the cemetery at the time (only two of those discussed here were erected before this date). Indeed, Mcfarland (2004:42-43) notes that, although Presbyterian congregations tended to abjure elaborate funeral rituals in the 19th century, "the formal choreography of shared grief did find a powerful outlet, particularly in the funerals of prominent Scottish churchmen … [and] [t]he desire to mourn the loss of a well-loved pastor in smaller local communities could easily produce equally striking scenes".

This may have been because the communal commemoration of ministers was only a subset of broader communal commemorative practices; other settings may have produced relationships analogous to that between minister and congregation, which received similar commemorative treatment. Of the twelve extra-familial monuments in the sample not dedicated to ministers, six were erected by organised and hierarchical communities within which the deceased held a position of responsibility or influence. Two of these were Elders/officials in seceded churches and were commemorated by the other members of their congregations, and two were senior teachers, who were commemorated by their pupils and colleagues. One had endowed a school and was commemorated by its trustees, and one was commemorated by his brother officers in the army. These monuments provide some context for the communal commemoration of ministers and suggest that it would be beneficial to interpret it not as a practice specific to the church but as a practice which was a common response to these kinds of relationships, relationships which were fostered most frequently in Nonconformist congregational settings, but which also arose elsewhere.

	Erectors	Number of monuments
Commemorated by organisation members	Church members/officials	10 (3182, 3215, 3022, 3169, 3183, 3256, 3266, 3342, 3353, 3445)
	Teachers, pupils, trustees	3 (3056, 3066, 3162)
	Military	1 (3314)
Commemorated by informal groups	Friends	4 (3202, 3455, 3310, 3450)
	Business partners	1 (3026)
	Unknown	1 (3239)

Figure 6.66 The occupational or personal context for the extra-familial commemoration of individuals in the Glasgow Necropolis sample.

Religious Variation in Commemorative Practice

In summary, then, it is difficult to generalise about the co-variance of monument preferences and denominational variation. Within specific settings differences in practice may emerge, with one group tending to use more of a particular kind of monument than another, but these localised patterns cannot easily be applied cross-contextually. The implication is that, although Gothic and Classical architecture might have had quite loudly proclaimed and distinct significances within the context of architectural criticism, the uses of these styles in commemoration did not straightforwardly reproduce these, and might in some contexts run contrary to expectations. One point on which the generalisation does hold, however, is that in neither of the cemeteries in which Anglicans and Nonconformists shared space did the Nonconformists use more Gothic crosses than the Anglicans. This suggests that when differences in practice did arise within specific settings in which the two groups were placed together, they would tend to correlate with the wider architectural zeitgeist.

The practices surrounding the commemoration of ministers in the Glasgow Necropolis, and also to an extent the commemoration of marine engineers in Southampton, further demonstrate that denominationally varied commemorative practices extended beyond a straightforward dividing up of monument forms into Anglican vs. Nonconformist. Religious identity is not built into the commemorative landscape but is articulated in concert with the relationships that this identity facilitated in life (in the case of the ministers), or in tandem with other aspects of identity (as with the mariners). Sometimes these practices were widely established within certain parameters (the Scottish context for example), but at others their specific articulation might be found in only one site (the mariners' monuments, which although part of a broader pattern of commemoration belonging to mariners, have not been attested to in this specific form elsewhere). Overall, then, the idea that religious identity was consistently read from commemorative landscapes seems unlikely.

Chapter 7 The Glasgow Necropolis and the construction of commemorative landscapes: building private landscapes in public.

Glasgow Necropolis:

The Glasgow Necropolis sample offers us the opportunity to examine some aspects of commemorative practice that have thus far remained unclear as a result of the different types of information available in relation to different sites. The assumed trajectory of monument use, involving a series of stages from death → plot purchase → burial → monument erection, is called into question by the data provided by the plot numbering system used in the cemetery. It is possible to identify within the sample numerous 'disrupted-chronology' monuments. These are used to consider the processes through which plot locations were chosen and monuments subsequently used, especially in relation to the tension within cemeteries and monument use as both public and private spaces/activities, and their role in commemorating both individuals and familial groups. The monument-marking practices of masons in Glasgow, and the archival material from two masons' firms (Mossman in Glasgow and Garret and Haysom in Southampton), are used to consider the cost of memorials and the processes through which their forms were chosen. This includes discussion of the contexts within which monument commissioning might have occurred and the degree of control that monument erectors might have had in determining the form of their memorial.

Figure 7.1 1830 map of Glasgow drawn and engraved by John Dower, published in London by Orr and Co. The hill where the Glasgow Necropolis would open two years subsequently is indicated with a red dot. The map, based on the 1895 Ordinance Survey large scale town plan, is reproduced with the permission of National Library of Scotland.

Religious Context and Setting

Glasgow Necropolis was established in northwest Glasgow in 1832 (Figure 7.1), and differs in several important ways from the other cemeteries surveyed as part of this project. Most obviously, being Scottish rather than English meant that its religious context was distinct from the other four cemeteries. Burial in consecrated ground had not been an accepted part of the funerary practices of the Church of Scotland since the 16th century, making the central distinction between consecrated and unconsecrated ground in English cemeteries irrelevant to the Glasgow Necropolis. Scott (2005:205), however, notes that intramural burial, which was also forbidden, continued sporadically into the 19th century. This is not to suggest that nonconformity had no place in the Necropolis; indeed, the repeated schisms and reunions of the Church of Scotland made for a complex and vibrant dissenting community of Secession Churches in Scotland, aside from the more widespread nonconformist groups like the Baptists and Methodists. Rather, the nuanced differences between these groups were not, in the Scottish burial context, simplified into the binary relationship presented in many 19th-century English cemeteries. In the Glasgow Necropolis even Anglicans had to be content with burial in unsanctified ground (ibid:207).

Figure 7.2 The pillar and gate-arch of the Jewish section within the Glasgow Necropolis, 2013 (Photograph: author, 2013.)

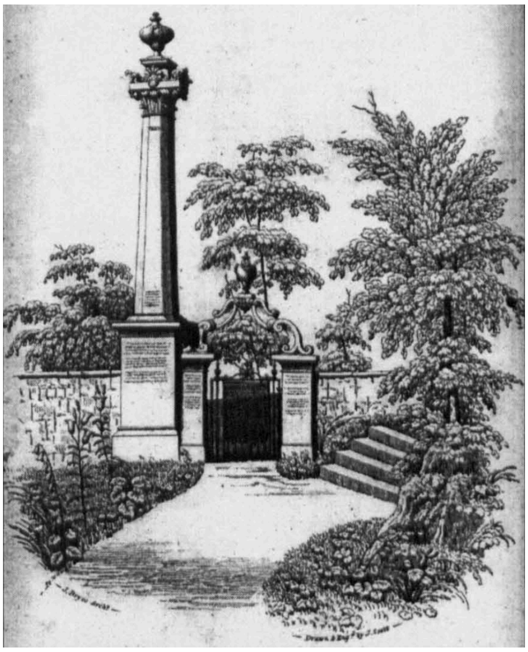


Figure 7.3 The same view as in figure 7.2, circa 1836, taken from L. Hill's *A Companion to the Necropolis* (1836) (courtesy of Scott 2005).

Note the difference in the height of the gate arch in the two images and the fact that the bottom of the pillar's base is concealed in the more recent image. The higher ground behind the gate and pillar in the modern image is the result of a landslip from higher up in the site.

The only group in the cemetery to receive a dedicated space for interment was the Jewish community, as in Southampton Cemetery. A small area in the northwest corner of the oldest section of the cemetery was sold in 1834 to the Glaswegian Jewish community for 100 guineas, and enclosed with a wall, decorative gate, and pillar. The pillar and gate arch are the only elements that remain as most of the plot, and its memorials, are now sadly concealed beneath a landslip (see Figure 7.2 and Figure 7.3). Aside from the clearly segregated Jewish community, the differences in religious affiliation amongst users of the Necropolis are not easy to assess as the burial records do not record an officiating minister. This omission is the indirect result of another major difference between the Necropolis and the other cemeteries in this survey: the lack of a chapel.

Funeral services in churches were forbidden by the Church of Scotland in the 17th century, as the "Kirk withdrew from the graveside" (Mcfarland 2004:25), and this was still the case when the cemetery opened in 1833. This is not to suggest that the Church of Scotland did not retain a strongly influential position in relation to burial practice and continue to act as "the 'gatekeeper' of death, the standard bearer of traditional mores" (Smith 2009:108). Aside from anything else, at the beginning of the 19th century it controlled the majority of burial space, just as the Church of England did south of the border. These traditions did not, however, entail graveside rites provided by ministers. Instead, the funeral party would meet at the house of the deceased, where they would receive wine and cake or biscuits, and hear prayers from the minister of the relevant church, before moving in a procession to the burial place, where no further religious ceremony would take place. This is in sharp contrast to the other cemeteries in the study, where the chapel was central to burial-day activities and constituted an important element in the structuring of cemetery space, providing the conceptual and visual centre(s) of the site.

Because of this difference in custom, both the bureaucratic and architectural character of the Necropolis differs from its English counterparts, there being no need to record officiating ministers and no need for a chapel to house ceremonies. An important consequence of the lack of a chapel is that the topography of the hillside and the monuments within it take on a greater role in providing the site with a visual identity and internal structure. Even before the hill beside the High Church was a cemetery, it had been marked by a memorial structure. The John Knox column was erected there in 1825, and this monument continues to constitute the main focal point of the cemetery at the summit of the hill (Figure 7.4).

Figure 7.4 Glasgow Cathedral and Necropolis viewed from the south-west. The Necropolis is in the distance in the right half of the image. Note the tall pillar of the Knox monument at the top of the hill (card printed by James Valentine, 1893).

Figure 7.5 View of the Cathedral from within the Glasgow Necropolis. (Photograph: author, 2013.)

The placement of the site overlooking the High Church also marks the cemetery as unusual (Figure 7.5). Ronnie Scott, in his 2005 PhD thesis, points out that linking the cemetery with the ancient High Church via a bridge across the Molendinar Burn provided a means of knitting the innovative site (the first of its kind in Scotland and amongst the first in Britain) into the historical fabric of the city, an opportunity unrivalled at the sites of other 19th-century cemeteries. There was no official relationship between the High Church and the Necropolis but the impression of continuity provided by their contiguity cannot have hindered the efforts of the Merchants' House in gaining acceptance for their novel site.

As in the other cities in this study, burial space was in short supply in Glasgow by the 1820s, as the population grew and the small churchyards filled. Although the Town Council had taken steps to remedy the situation, creating more space at both the High Church and Ramshorn Church in the first decades of the 19th century, by the 1820s only the Ramshorn Church was accepting public burials and was becoming severely congested with corpses. Around this time, it became clear to certain members of the Merchants' House that constructing a large-scale solution to the burial problem would both improve the city and turn a profit from underused land. This dual interest in commercial gain and the fulfilment of civic duty was characteristic of the Merchants' House, and constitutes another unusual aspect of the Necropolis.

The Merchants' House

The Merchants' House cannot easily be grouped with either the joint-stock companies responsible for Kensal Green and Birmingham Key Hill, or with the governmental or religious structures behind the creation of Southampton Cemetery and Bath Abbey. Rather, it was characterised by aspects of all these organisations. The Merchants' House was established early in the 17th century as a commercial guild, not restricted to a single trade, and was organised around the commercial interests of its members and consequently the economic life of the city as a whole. It also maintained close links to the Town Council and engaged in various charitable activities. Its highest positions, such as the Dean of the Guild and the Collector, tended to be filled by the top members of Glaswegian commerce, from manufacturers to architects and journalists. These men also tended to sit on various other committees in the city, including those of charities, societies, and the Town Council itself (Trainor 1996:232). Their individual commercial interests might not have always overlaped, but the success of the city as a whole benefited them all and this bound them together despite differences in politics and religion.

Many of the members of the House were also united by their membership of masonic lodges. Although there are very occasional indications of Masonic activity at other cemeteries, such as the presence of compass and rule designs on monuments (see chapter five), the involvement of active Freemasons in the establishment of the actual cemetery, as opposed to the erection of private memorials, is far better documented in the Glasgow Necropolis than in the other sites in this study. At least two of the men central to the conception and establishment of the cemetery (James Ewing who brought the scheme to the attention of the Merchants' House, and David Hamilton who designed two of the main structures within the cemetery – the Bridge of Sighs and the Egyptian Vaults) were Masons, and Scott (2005:99-101) identifies the foundation stone ceremony held for the bridge joining the cemetery to the land south of the High Church as a strongly masonic event. Scott (ibid:101) also argues that, although this ceremony involved psalms and prayers given by the Minister of the High Church, the inscriptions at either end of the bridge suggested a vague and inclusive religious ethos similar to that endorsed by Freemasonry. The extent to which membership of the Merchants' House and membership of Masonic Lodges overlapped, and the extent to which this influenced the decisions made in the process of establishing the Necropolis is more difficult to assess. However, the twin aims of profit and public improvement associated with the formation of the cemetery were far from antithetical to Freemasonry, and there was likely significant overlap.

The aims of the Merchants' House in converting the site were declared early and repeated consistently during the process of establishing the Necropolis. The Fir Park, a wooded hill to the west of the High Church, was already owned by the Merchants' House and was considered an underperforming resource (ibid:78). In 1828 two members of the House, Laurence Hill and James Ewing, exchanged letters on the subject of converting the land into an ornamental cemetery modelled on Père Lachaise in Paris and within months they had presented this as a proposal to the House, claiming that it would be profitable, would improve the city, and would positively influence the religious and moral life of the city's populace (ibid:78). Within five years the Necropolis was operational, having gone way over the initial budget, but having faced little difficulty in either obtaining the necessary permissions or in gaining acceptance for the plan from the city's population.

The Necropolis provided significantly more space than any other early 19th-century development in Glasgow, and the space it provided was of a very different kind to that available in the city's churchyards. It was not, however, the only new burial facility in the city. In 1832 the Town Council was prompted by a cholera outbreak to open St Mungo's burial ground, which was just west of the site of the Necropolis and just north of the High Church. Planning for St Mungo's was rapid and it is certain that the man responsible, James Cleland, was aware of the plans for the Necropolis that were already underway on the other side of the Molendinar, but it is unclear to what extent his designs were in imitation of the neighbouring site. The commonality between the two was less in overall effect than in shared concern that burial sites should be pleasant to use, clean, secure, and green, and that the plots should mostly be the definitive property of the purchaser (ibid:53). The scales of the two enterprises were, however, significantly different; upon initial planning St Mungo's was intended to hold a little under 400 burying places (ibid:52), whereas even before subsequent expansions the Necropolis was planned to hold at least twice this number (ibid:84). The quality of the two sites, in topographical terms, and the amounts of time and money invested in laying them out, were also different. The Necropolis literally looked down on St Mungo's, which was quickly hemmed in by the new Royal Infirmary buildings (ibid:53) and, whereas planning for the larger site started five years before its opening with adjustments continuing after this, the smaller burial ground was conceived and executed within a year. The Necropolis also occupied a much greater space within the cultural landscape of the town than St Mungos, growing out over the hill topped by the John Knox monument and providing a space for recreation, as well as for occasional public events like choir recitals (ibid:159). Although St Mungo's opened first and was technically a cemetery in that it was not associated with a place of worship, it was a far cry from the Père Lachaise-like landscape of the Necropolis.

Guidance on Monuments

The Merchants' House also made a greater effort than the Town Council to set a high architectural standard amongst its customers and give plot purchasers guidance as to the types of monuments that were expected in the new burial landscape. This is also quite different from the other cemeteries in the survey, where guidance regarding architectural tone and the acceptable and available variety of monuments was restricted to the example provided by the chapel(s) and in the right of veto which the cemetery management maintained over all designs (this was the case in Southampton and Kensal Green although at the latter site intervention was not encouraged). At the Necropolis this guidance was provided in two novel ways, firstly, during the first years of the site's operation the Merchants' House donated land free of charge to organisations wishing to commemorate important citizens in the same mould as the Knox monument. These monuments were often for Presbyterian notables like William McGavin (1773 – 1832) or industrialists like Charles Tennant (1768 – 1838), and, while some were cenotaphs, others were tombs. These monuments were paid for by public subscriptions and they were consistently designed and executed to a high standard, in a variety of styles, sometimes involving portraiture, but mostly using architectural forms (again echoing the commemoration of ministers). Consequently, their unveilings were often public events, encouraging members of the community to visit the site and see what commemoration in perpetuity might look like.

In these same early years, up to about 1837 (Scott 2005:156), the Merchants' House also illustrated the possibilities provided by permanent commemoration in spacious and well-laid out grounds by building a variety of speculative tombs. Some of these pre-prepared tombs were simply the underground elements of the lair, which was itself a complicated brick structure much like the vaults found in Kensal Green (Curl 2001:82; Scott 2005:153). Scott describes these as being "both a showroom and stock: they were used to show potential customers the range of options for lairs and also for sale" (Scott 2005:154). They also offered, in the period before the temporary housing option of the Egyptian Vaults was completed in 1837, the possibility of quick burial without having to resort to the use of the public graves that housed multiple bodies and were always kept ready for more occupants (ibid:142). The public graves, or *fosses communes* as the Cemetery Committee called them, were also brick vaults, but much larger, permitting the burial of up to 150 people (ibid:156) and, in the first years of operation, places in these vaults sold at a quicker rate than private plots (ibid:140), although they never brought in as much income.

Not all of the speculative tombs, however, were restricted to beneath-ground elements. Some were sold as entire ready-made monuments, such as the example illustrated and listed for sale at the front of Laurence Hill's 1836 *Companion to the Glasgow Necropolis*, which was a plain cuboid monument with a gently pointed top, based on a monument from Père Lachaise (ibid:222). More ambiguously, when John Strang was instructed by the House to identify appropriate spaces for speculative development, he selected several locations for the construction of private vaults of differing sizes and types, as well as suggesting that three family tombs should be prepared "with facings of Egyptian architecture" (ibid:155 quoting the Necropolis Committee minutes), although it is unclear whether these facings constituted entire monuments or just neat coverings over the lairs beneath. It is also uncertain whether these particular tombs were ever constructed, but it is clear that speculative lair construction continued more generally until the beginning of 1837 when it was decided by the Committee in charge of the Necropolis that this policy was not profitable (ibid:156).

The ending of the policy at this time also may have been because it had, by this point, served its two main purposes, aside from profit. By 1837 David Hamilton's designs for the Egyptian Vaults were offering an imminent solution to the problem of bridging the period between death and the point at which a custom-built lair could be completed, making ready-made lairs for quick burial unnecessary. The memorial landscape of the cemetery was also judged by this point to be developed sufficiently that it no longer required active measures to increase the density or variety of monuments, bring different areas of the site into use, or increase its reputation as a place of commemoration. In this year both speculative construction and the practice of donating land for the construction of monuments to public figures ended. During their operation, however, these two policies had allowed the Committee of the Glasgow Necropolis to take a more active role in shaping the commemorative landscape of the cemetery than the controlling authorities of the other cemeteries in this study. This may have been prompted by site's lack of any chapel providing a central architectural reference point.

Given the prevailing Presbyterian context it would not be unreasonable to assume the erection of elaborate memorials might have required this active encouragement and that attitudes towards elaborate commemorative practices might have been less permissive than in England. This does not, however, appear to have been the case. Calls for funeral reform surfaced in Scotland much as they did south of the border (Jalland 1999:244), and for similar reasons, mostly focusing on the financial hardship that expensive funerals could cause amongst the less wealthy. However, in Scotland, as in England, interest in reforming the scale and expense of *funerals* did not necessarily translate into a desire to reduce the expense or elaboration of *monuments*. Large lairs and high-quality memorials were actively encouraged and were very common in the cemetery, and there were few dissenting voices raised against the monuments which were accumulating in the cemetery during its first decades of operation. On the contrary, the assemblage was repeatedly described in contemporary newspapers, guidebooks, and treatises on the subject as being a model of good taste (Hill 1836; Buchan 1843; Blair 1857).

Overall then, the Glasgow Necropolis constituted a commemorative landscape very different from the other cemeteries in this study. This was primarily the consequence of the religious context of the cemetery, and the unusual organisation behind its construction. The religious setting affected not only the religious demography of the cemetery's occupants, but also the organisation of space within the site; the architectural features (or absence thereof) structuring that space; and the rituals surrounding burial. The early policies of the Merchants' House regarding speculative lair construction and the encouragement of large commemorative monuments also affected the internal structure of the site.

Composition and Demographics of the Sample

Monument Types

The sample from the Glasgow Necropolis is comprised of 409 monuments (Figure 7.6), but as with the other sites the total number of monuments being considered in relation to any given question is often less than this as a result of incomplete data regarding different variables. The relative frequency of monument types indicated by the sample differs from the observation made by Scott (2005:170) that the "neo-classical obelisk" was the most popular monument in the Necropolis, referring, presumably, to his period of study, which ends in 1857. The survey sample indicates, however, that urn monuments were erected more often than obelisks throughout the period up to 1870 (Figure 7.7 and Figure 7.8). This remains the case even if the necessarily less reliable subcategory of 'probable urn bases' is excluded. The high frequency of this category of monument at the Glasgow Necropolis was discussed earlier in chapter four (see Figure 4.18).

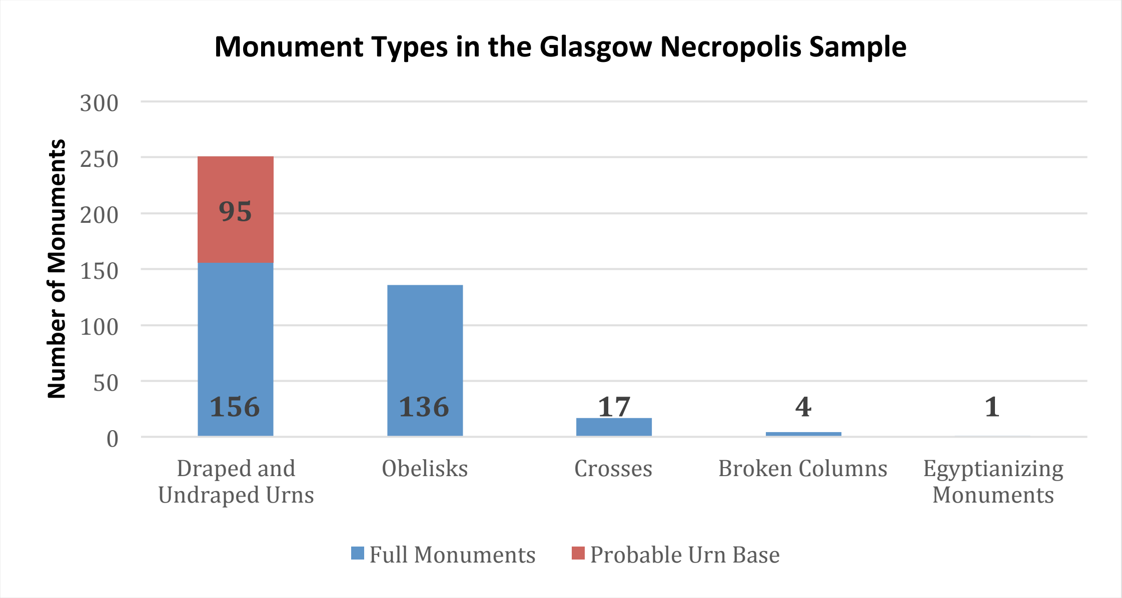


Figure 7.6 Overall composition of the Glasgow Necropolis sample in terms of monument types.

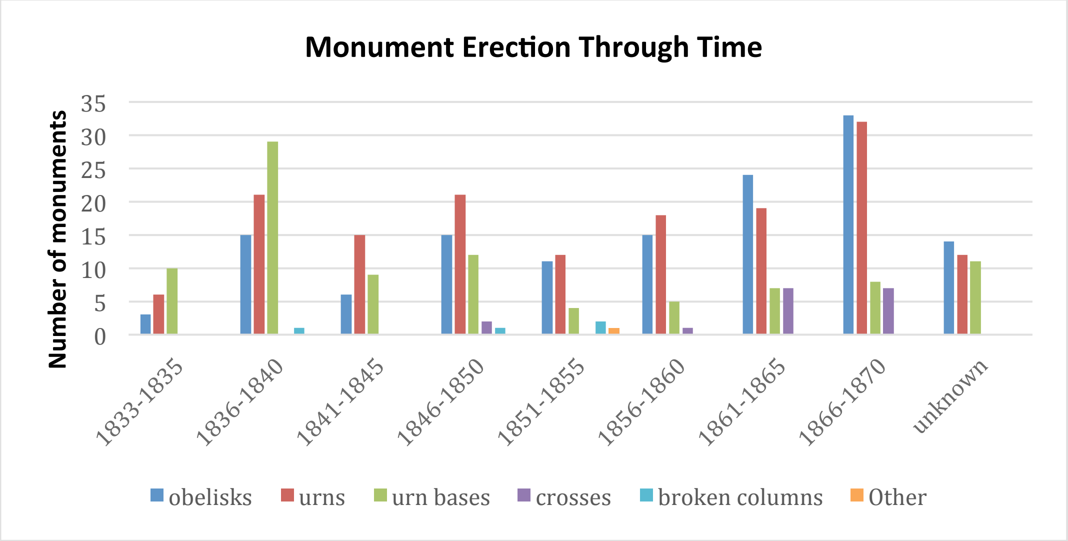


Figure 7.7 Graph showing the erection of monuments over time in the Glasgow Necropolis sample. Those included in the 'unknown' date category are those that can be dated to within the surveyed period, but not to within a specific date interval.

Aside from the high rate of missing urns, the composition of the Glasgow Necropolis sample shares many features with those from the other four cemeteries, most closely resembling the pattern of monument use at the other large-scale cemetery in the study, Kensal Green. In none of the other samples do urn monuments dominate the assemblage to the same extent as they do in these two cemeteries, and Scott's claim that obelisks were the most commonly used monument in the Necropolis seems more a reflection of the relative visibility of obelisks than their actual numbers, an impression which would no doubt be reinforced for modern viewers by the frequent absence of urns from their bases.

As in Kensal Green, there are fewer ringed, flared, and finialed crosses in the Glasgow Necropolis than either obelisks or urn monuments, and most of these date to the last decade of the surveyed period (Figure 7.8). However, in Glasgow the proportion of Gothic cross-monuments is much smaller than in any of the other cemeteries. Only 3% of the surveyed monuments in the Necropolis were Gothic cross forms, whereas in the consecrated section of Kensal Green just over 7% were (see previous chapter). What all the other samples had in common was an increase in cross use around 1855, and a concomitant decrease in the number of urns being erected. This was not the case in the Glasgow Necropolis sample, where urn erection was fairly consistent from 1840 onwards, and obelisk erection increased more in the last decade of the sample than crosses.

The comparative rarity of crosses in the Necropolis can be read as a consequence of the predominantly Low-Church Presbyterian religious context. It also suggests that the use of ringed crosses in the other samples from the 1840s/1850s onwards was likely related to the resurgence of Gothic architecture and the development of the High-Church movement and was not an early manifestation of the later Celtic Revival in the arts and memorial designs that developed in the last decades of the 19th century (Brooks 1989:76; Tarlow 1999a:73). It is interesting that these Gothic forms were not popular in the Necropolis, despite the site's position overlooking the original Medieval Gothic High Church. It would be informative to compare the Glasgow Necropolis sample to another Scottish site, in order to assess whether the apparent rejection of Gothic designs was a regional phenomenon, related perhaps to the Scottish religious context.

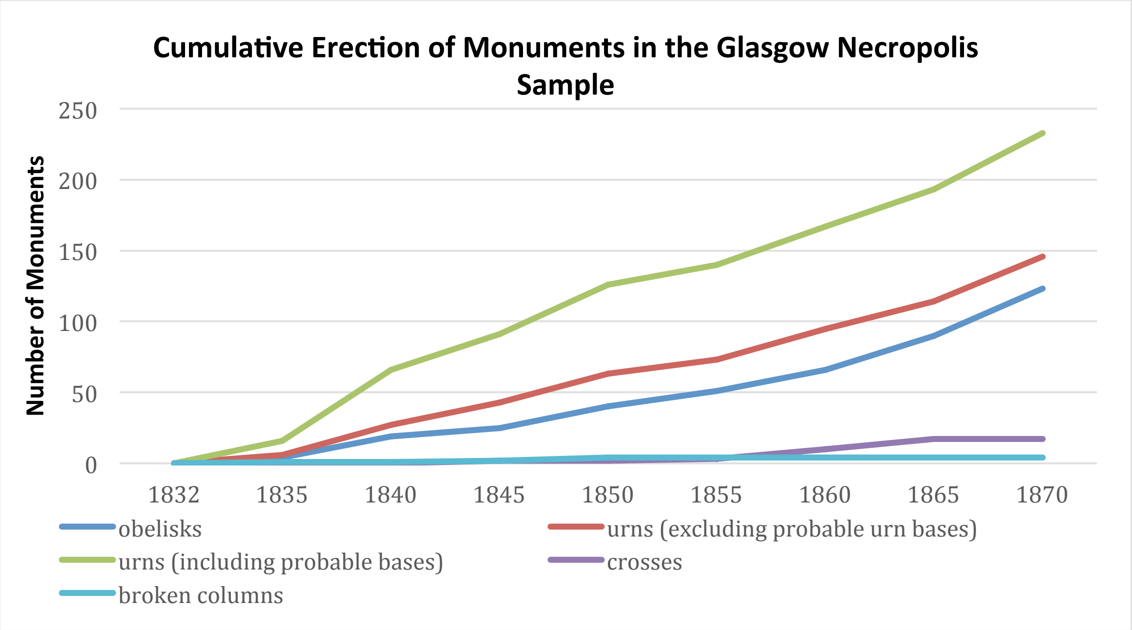


Figure 7.8 Cumulative erection of different monument types in the Glasgow Necropolis,

One other point of variance between the Glasgow Necropolis and Kensal Green samples is the greater use in Kensal Green of bespoke Egyptianizing memorials and mausolea. There is only one monument dating to before 1870 in the Necropolis that is Egyptianizing in form but not an obelisk. This monument is a doorway with battered sides and a cavetto corniced lintel that provides access to a lair constructed into the side of the hill. It belonged to John Bell, a wealthy ceramic manufacturer and Elder of the Free Church of Scotland, who erected it in 1853 upon his wife's death, although his father already occupied the lair (Figure 7.9). It closely resembles the Egyptian Vaults that were constructed in the late 1830s (see Figure 4.5 and Figure 5.76), and although there are a number of other mausolea in the Necropolis, Bell's lair is the only example to use an Egyptianizing style. In contrast, the consecrated section of Kensal Green contains ten Egyptianizing mausolea, a sarcophagus with battered sides, two pyramid-form monuments, and a canopied monument with pharaoh-like head decorations (see chapter six).

Figure 7.9 Monument 3124 (Glasgow Necropolis) dedicated to John Bell, who died in 1842. (Photograph: author, 2013.)

This divergence is interesting because it does not spring from a lack of unusual bespoke memorials at the Necropolis, but a distinct tendency not to use Egyptianizing styles for these, which itself contrasts with the fact that a third of the sampled monuments are obelisks. There seems, therefore, to be some distinction between obelisks as a specific monument form, and Egyptianizing monuments more broadly. The other samples in this study, at Birmingham Key Hill, Southampton, and Bath Abbey, are too small and contain too few large-scale monuments and mausolea to pull apart this distinction (Southampton has one mausoleum which dates to the 20th Century, while Bath Abbey and Key Hill have several unique memorials but no mausolea). The comparison of the Glasgow and Kensal Green samples indicates, however, that the rates at which obelisks and other Egyptianizing forms or mausolea are erected do not necessarily correlate.

This raises the possibility that obelisks might not have been considered primarily as an Egyptian element, but as a Neoclassical form, and that the use of monument forms with Egyptianizing features such as battered walls, cavetto cornices or decorations such as hieroglyphics or sun-disks, should be considered as a separate development. Although it is very difficult to evaluate contemporary assessments of stylistic boundaries, especially given the degree to which knowledge and expertise varies within and between populations, contemporary guidebooks provide some insight into how specific sites and materials were presented. These volumes were the interpretive tools with which visitors were typically armed, and Blair's 1857 *Biographic and Descriptive Sketches of Glasgow Necropolis* strongly suggests that obelisks were not necessarily considered primarily as Egyptian. Although the word Egyptian is used repeatedly in Blair's text (mostly in relation to the Vaults and Egyptian commemorative practices), only three of these are in connection with obelisks. Two instances refer to an obelisk erected for James Mackenzie in 1838, which is explicitly described as being "worthy of notice as a genuine Egyptian obelisk, having no pedestal or base, but appearing to grow out of the earth" (Blair 1857:58). The implication is that pedestaled obelisks, in not being 'genuine Egyptian' might be something *else*, but Blair seems reluctant to reclassify these pastiches. Towards the end of the volume he summarises the monument types, "from the simple grandeur of the Doric to the exquisite elegance of the Corinthian – from the massive Egyptian obelisk to the picturesque Gothic, the graceful Italian, and the formal yet fanciful Elizabethan" (ibid:351). Clearly the boundaries of Egyptian style recognised by Blair are porous enough to encompass pedestaled genuine obelisks and even other monuments with what he deems the 'proportions' (ibid:59) or 'character' of Egyptian architecture, even if the specifically identifiable Egyptian characteristics did not extend beyond a plain cavetto cornice (ibid:384). He likens another monument to the "original design" (ibid:284) of Egyptian tombs in a more abstract way, on the grounds of its apparent solidity and permanence, despite it being a clearly Classical monument. Overall, Blair's guidance to those visiting the cemetery embraced the necessary ambiguity of stylistic boundaries, recognising the vagaries of authenticity.

Occupations and Servant Employment

Although the relative frequency of monument types in the Glasgow Necropolis sample most closely resembles the sample from the consecrated section of Kensal Green, and the scale and elaboration of these sites is similar, definitely falling within the “exceptional” category described by Rugg (1998a:49), the occupational make-up of the erectors of the monuments in these two samples are markedly different, reflecting the distinct economic and social identities of the two cities.

Blair (1857:*xi*) commented that “we discover but little in the Necropolis of the aristocratic element. It is singularly worthy of remark that almost all of its most prominent monuments are erected to persons who rose by their own exertions and merits from a humble position in society”. This boast does not appear to be unfounded, either in terms of the make-up of the Necropolis, or of Glasgow society more generally. Certainly it is borne out in the sample from the cemetery, of which only a tiny minority of surveyed monuments were erected by households supported by private means: five of the 386 monument-erecting households for which there is occupational data. This contrasts strongly with the consecrated Kensal Green sample, in which 88% of the 365 monuments for which occupational data was available, were erected by households dependent on private means. More generally, the ‘elite’ of Glasgow, as identified by Trainor (1996:240) on the basis of public, civic and philanthropic roles as well as inclusion in contemporary biographical dictionaries, was conspicuously lacking in aristocracy and ‘lesser land owners’.

Rather, in Trainor’s (ibid:240) estimation, Glasgow’s elite was dominated by merchants, which made up nearly half of his sample in 1841. The second largest group was comprised of those involved in ‘Industry’, followed by ‘Professionals’ (ibid:240). This pattern is mirrored in the sample of monuments taken in the Necropolis, in which trade was the largest group, followed by manufacturing and then established professional groups such as law, medicine, and the Church (Figure 7.10, Figure 7.11, and Figure 7.12)

Occupation Group	Number of Monuments
Trade	175
Manufacturing	104
Established professions (Law, Medicine, Church)	44
White collar/less established professions	37
Other	10
Shipping	11
Private means	5
Unknown	23
Total	409

Figure 7.10 Occupations of the surveyed households in the Glasgow Necropolis, according to a simplified version of Scheme 1.

Trade	175
Manufacturing	104
White Collar	30
Church	20
Law	12
Medicine	12
Shipping	11
Education	6
Private Means	5
Politics	3
Agriculture	2
Arts	2
Military	2
Civil Service	1
Media	1
Unknown	23
Total	409

Figure 7.11 Occupations of households surveyed in the Glasgow Necropolis, classified according to Scheme 1.

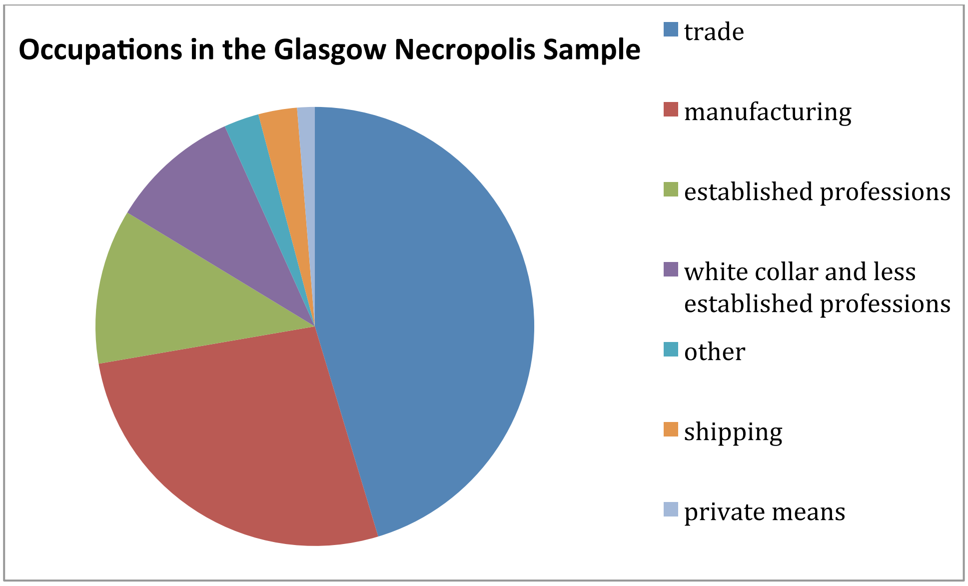


Figure 7.12 Chart showing the occupations of the Glasgow Necropolis sample, classified according to a simplified version of Scheme 1. The 'unknown' category is excluded.

This does not mean, however, that the Necropolis sample is comprised entirely of the 'elite' identified by Trainor (ibid). As was discussed in relation to the Birmingham sample, the categories of 'manufacturing' and 'trade' are extremely heterogeneous (see chapter six) and contained both industrial magnates and independent artisans. Trainor's (ibid:240) 'elite' constituted only a tiny proportion of these, and his definition did not depend on occupational identity but on the holding of positions within local government and philanthropic organisations. Members of the elite headed charitable organisations; sat on the councils of organisations like the Merchants' House; and took on roles like the Lord Provost. This group represented only a tiny minority within Glasgow society, numbering around 130 individuals (and their families) in 1841, and increasing a little to around 150 by 1881 (ibid:233). To put this in perspective, the overall population of the city was estimated to be 274,553 at the time of the 1841 census and 511,415 in 1881 (Withers 1996:142).

Aside from the holding of positions within government and charitable organisations, these men, and their families, were differentiated from the middle classes by the extent of their success within their particular field and their consequent ability to control resources and exert influence, rather than by a categorical difference in the source of their wealth, or their family history. This occupational commonality between the upper middle class and the elite is endorsed by Nenadic's (1996:267) work on the middle classes in Glasgow in the 1860s. Her findings indicate that the middle classes were also dominated by business owners (including both trade and manufacture), who comprised about 75% of her sample, with professionals forming the second largest group. The boundary between the top of the middle class and the elite was porous in Glasgow, and although there persisted "a very wealthy core within a more diverse though still largely middle-class elite" (Trainor ibid:229), it was not until the end of the century that a more pronounced division between these developed (ibid:230).

The Glasgow sample, then, is occupationally consistent with both the elite and the middle classes. When servant data is considered, however, it is possible to be more specific about the social and financial status of the sampled households. The Glaswegian middle class of the middle-1800s was a widely varied group in economic terms, insofar as it was a contained unit at all. The dependence of many families on small business ownership meant that finances were often uncertain and Nenadic (1996:272) estimates that half of what she describes as middle-class families were in a precarious financial position, possessing little easily mobilised capital. Her (ibid:272) sample, based on interlinking documents from the early 1860s, enables her to divide the group into subsets based on a combined index of income, servant employment, accommodation size, accommodation value, and wealth at death. "Only the top 10 per cent [of the middle class], a privileged elite dominated by certain professions, merchants and major manufacturers, enjoyed the level of income and material comfort that was commonly represented as desirable in middle-class domestic manuals of the period" (ibid:272), the bottom 50% were "concentrated at the bottom of the hierarchy, with low incomes, modest houses with few servants, and almost no tangible wealth" (ibid:272). In terms of servant employment, only 2.5% of Nenadic's (ibid:272) sample employed three or more servants, and only a further 7.5% employed two, these groups together comprising the top 10% of affluent middle-class families. The other 90% employed only one servant or none at all (half of her sampled families employed none) (ibid:272).

This distribution of servant employment is not consistent with the Necropolis sample, in which 28% employed three or more servants, and another 31% employed two. This suggests that nearly 60% of the Necropolis sample belonged to either the elite or the top 10% of the middle classes. Families which belonged to these strata of society would typically have an income of more than £300 p/a, and would have lived in accommodation of seven or more rooms (ibid:272). Although the data collected for this project does not provide information regarding the size of housing, it is possible to trace, through the addresses alone, the move of this upper-middle class group away from the centre of Glasgow as the city shifted westwards and accommodation outside of the polluted centre became available and, due to improvements in transport, practicable. This move further supports the idea that the sample from the Necropolis represents the wealthiest members of Glasgow Society.

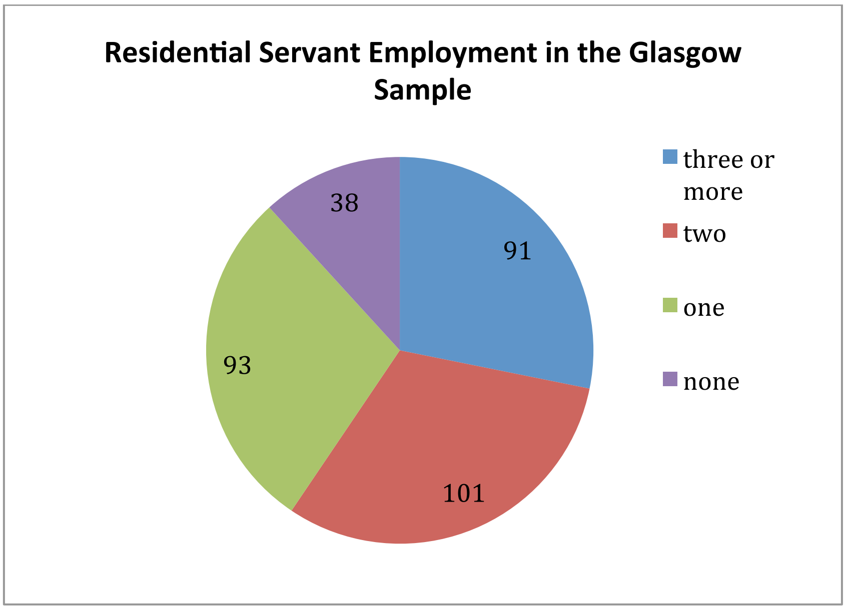


Figure 7.13 Residential servant employment within the Glasgow Necropolis sample, excluding those households for which such data is not available.

The exodus of the upper middle class

At the start of the study period, the city was beginning to expand rapidly as estates were speculatively developed, initially to the west of the city centre, straddling Blythswood Hill (Figure 7.14), and subsequently further west in Woodlands and Kelvingrove, and south in Pollokshields and beyond (Figure

7.15). This accompanied an increased level of segregation between occupational and familial space for the middle and upper classes (Schmiechen 1996:488).

Figure 7.14 1830 map of Glasgow drawn and engraved by John Dower, published in London by Orr and Co. The already partially constructed area of the Blythswood Estate is indicated. The Necropolis is marked with a red dot. Map reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland.

Figure 7.15 1882 'New plan of Glasgow with Suburbs from Ordnance and Actual surveys, Constructed for the Post Office Directory' by John Bartholomew. To the south west Pollockshields is indicated, and to the north west, the area around Kelvingrove and Woodlands is circled. The Necropolis is marked with a red dot. Map reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland.

The relocation of these groups away from the old city centre can be tracked in the Glasgow Necropolis sample. Households erecting monuments in the Necropolis sample were traced, wherever possible, in whichever census fell nearest to the year in which their monument was erected. When an entry in the nearest census could not be located, a more distant one was used instead. Seventy-nine families were traced in the 1841 census. Four of these were associated with addresses that could not be traced, leaving 75 residing in identifiable locations. Of these, 34 resided within the boundaries of the city as they had been in 1822 (Figure 7.16). These boundaries are estimated from the map that accompanied John Wood's 1828 *Descriptive account of the principal towns in Scotland*, which was compiled in 1822 by the surveyor David Smith (1803-1854), and reflect the extent of urban development rather than the official city limits. Of the monuments associated with addresses taken from the 1871 and 1881 censuses, only five of the 23 locations fell within the extent of the city as it had been in 1822 (Figure 7.17).

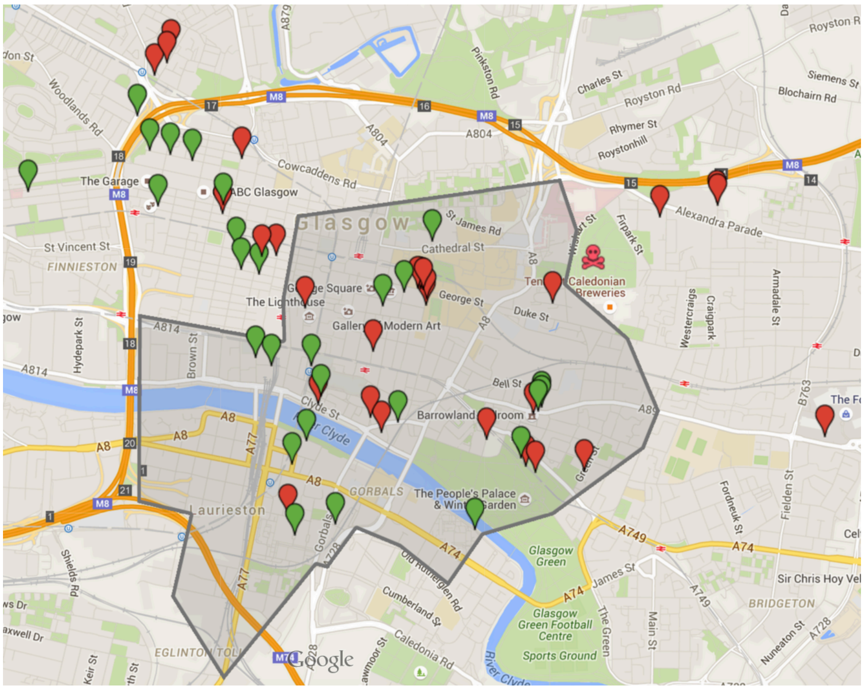


Figure 7.16 Addresses from the 1841 census relating to monument erecting households in the Glasgow Necropolis. The boundary marks the extent of the city in 1822. Red markers denote addresses that cannot be placed exactly either because house numbers were not included in the census or because the relevant street configuration has been changed. The Necropolis is marked with a skull and crossbones. Map created using Google Maps.

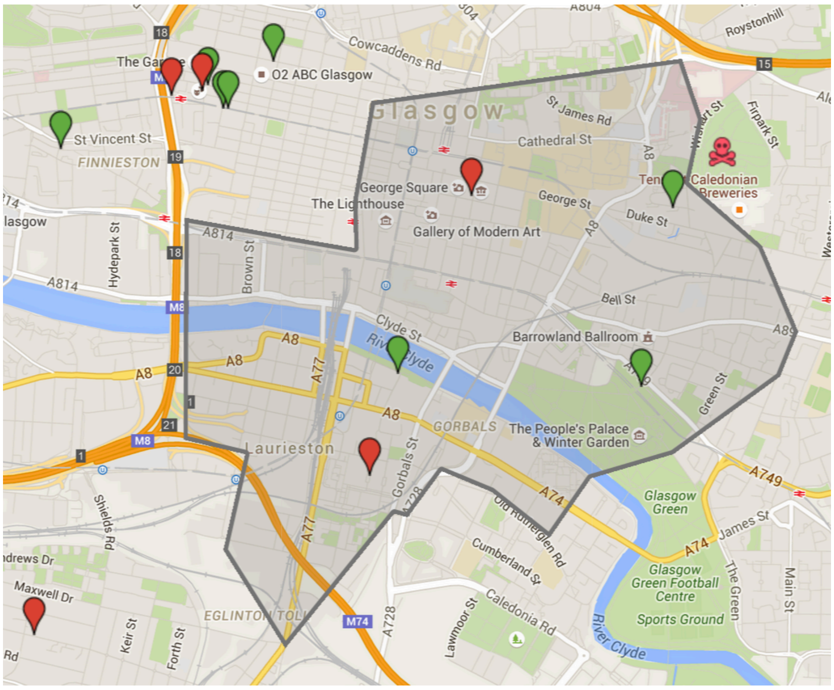


Figure 7.17 Addresses from the 1871 and 1881 censuses relating to monument erecting households in the Glasgow Necropolis. The boundary marks the extent of the city in 1822. Red markers denote addresses that cannot be placed exactly either because house numbers were not included in the census or because the relevant street configuration has been changed. The Necropolis is marked with a skull and crossbones. Map created using Google Maps.

This means that the proportion of addresses falling within the 'old' city centre fell by about half between 1841 and 1871/1881. This, like the occupational and servant ownership data, clearly marks the Glasgow Necropolis sample as being comprised of the upper middle classes, those capable of taking advantage of the new housing opportunities provided by the expansion of the city, rather than the less affluent sections of the middle class who were forced by necessity to remain in "tenement dwelling within a few miles of the old city centre" (Nenadic 1996:284).

The only unusual feature of the pattern presented by the Necropolis housing data is the apparent *decrease* across the sample period in the number of families living beyond the city entirely, in coastal towns like Greenock, Gourock, Helensburgh, and Dunoon, or nearby settlements like Paisley, Cathcart, and Carstairs. Of the 1841 addresses, ten were in coastal towns and a further six were in inland Scottish towns and villages. Amongst the 1871 and 1881 addresses, one household was based on the coast in Helensburgh, and three were in inland towns.

Monument Sizes

Average monument sizes at Glasgow were slightly higher than at the other sites, including Kensal Green (compare Figure 6.45 and Figure 7.18). It should be noted that the average size of the cross category is very high because of the inclusion of two very tall monuments; the ten-metre Macfarlan monument (see Figure 6.63), and monument 3400, which contains an obelisk element in the base and could justifiably be considered an obelisk monument. If these two are excluded, the average size of the 'cross' group would be just under 280cm, closer to the average sizes of cross-monuments at the other sites, but it would still be higher than elsewhere as only a minority of Gothic cross-monuments in the Necropolis are tablets, and even these were larger than tablet memorials from the other sites. The average heights of urn and obelisk monuments are also higher than at the other sites, and a large proportion of monuments were made of granite, which was more expensive than other stones, suggesting that the sample from this site was comprised of more expensive monuments than the samples from the other cemeteries, including Kensal Green. It is possible that this greater expense was related to the extended use that was expected by lairs in the Necropolis, and the frequency with which monuments there commemorated not a single person, but a family group, as will be seen below.

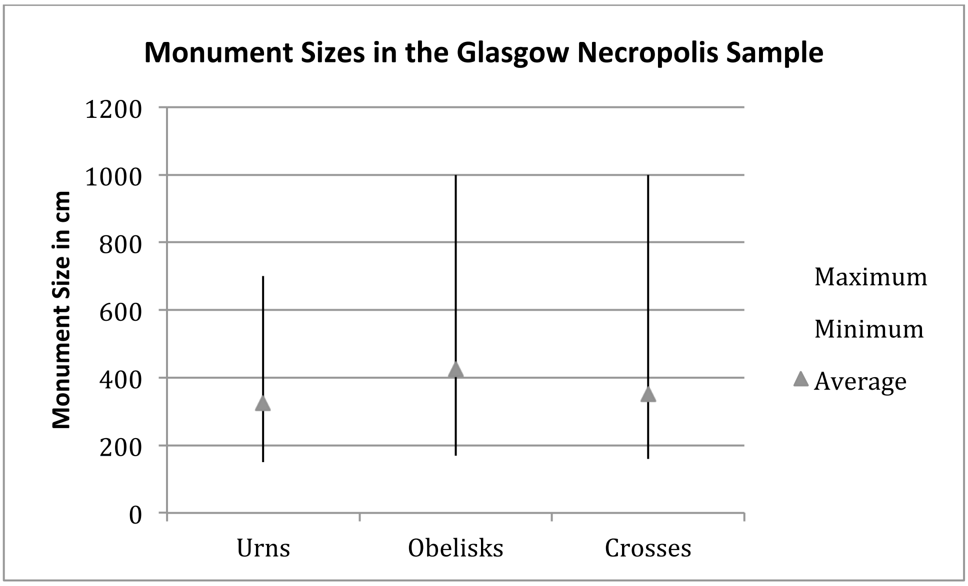


Figure 7.18 Average, maximum and minimum sizes of different monument types in the Glasgow sample, excluding probable urn bases.

Commemorative Subjects

As elsewhere, spouses were the most commonly commemorated individual relation, with husbands representing nearly a quarter of all primary commemorative subjects. Children make up another significant portion of the primary commemorative subjects, which is also similar to the other samples. However, just as Southampton had an unusual number of extra-familial burials, so the Glasgow Necropolis has an unusual number of memorials dedicated to multiple family members.

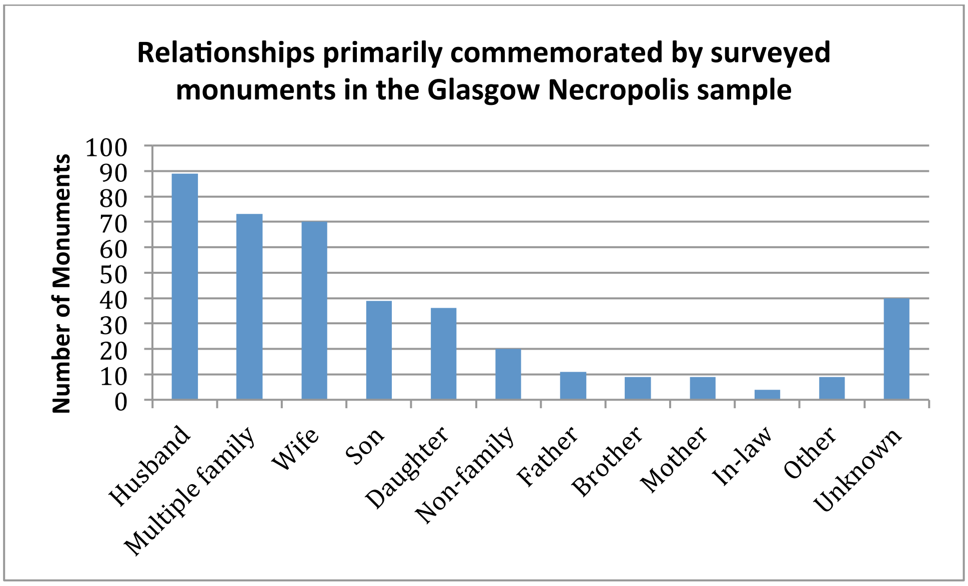


Figure 7.19 Relationships initially commemorated by surveyed monuments in the Glasgow Necropolis sample.

The circumstances in which a monument would be dedicated to multiple family members simultaneously were varied. Some monuments commemorated coinciding deaths, for example monument 3321, a draped urn erected by Peter and Janet Aikman for six of their children, all below ten, who died in the space of a fortnight in 1857 (Figure 7.20). Alternatively, some memorials commemorated plots that contained recently dead family members and pre-deceased ones removed from their original burial sites to joint their family members, as in the case of the Walker monument (number 3110, Figure 7.21). In some cases they would commemorate absent family members and not involve the exhumation and reinterring of bodies, for example in the case of the Wallace monument (number 3168, Figure 7.22). The simultaneous commemoration of multiple individuals was also associated with the chronologically disrupted use of monuments, as will be discussed in the following section.

Figure 7.20 Monument 3321 (Glasgow Necropolis), dedicated to six children in the Aikman family who died in the space of a fortnight in 1857. (Photograph: author, 2013.)

Figure 7.21 Monument 3110 (Glasgow Necropolis), which is missing its urn. Dedicated by George Lyon Walker to his mother, Allison Lyon, who died in the autumn of 1833, and his daughter Helen Jane, who had died two years previously, aged a little under eight years, and was reinterred in the Necropolis with her grandmother. (Photograph: author, 2013.)

Figure 7.22 Monument 3168 (Glasgow Necropolis), a draped urn monument dedicated by David Wallace to his father, John Wallace, who died in 1859, and his mother who had died in 1833 and been interred at Kirkwall and not subsequently reinterred. (Photograph: author, 2013.)

The consequence was that these monuments commemorated, in some sense, not just the individuals inscribed, but also the broader family unit, evoking the structure of family ties that bound the deceased together and to the living. Either because of the ill fortune of multiple deaths, or through the performance of post-mortem family reunion either in name (inscription) or fact (physical removal of remains), these monuments represent a slightly different form of commemoration to that undertaken for a single individual. In Glasgow 20% of all memorials for which this kind of data was available were erected in this way, while in Birmingham Key Hill (11%), Kensal Green (10%), and Bath Abbey (12%) between 10%-12% were. In Southampton the practice was far less common; none of the surveyed monuments were erected in this way.

A related aspect of commemorative practice, which indicated the extent to which monuments were envisaged as memorials for a family group and not just a single individual or spousal pair, is the number of commemorative subjects on monuments overall. In the Glasgow Necropolis, an average of nearly five people were commemorated on each stone, and this figure is similar in the Key Hill sample (Figure 7.23). These two cemeteries also contain the largest proportions of monuments commemorating three or more generations of the same families. In Glasgow 20% of surveyed inscriptions refer to three or four generations, and in Birmingham this figure is 17 out of 55 monuments, or nearly 30%. It is interesting that despite having similarly heavily-used memorials, the simultaneous initial commemoration of multiple family members was so much less common in Key Hill than in the Glasgow sample.

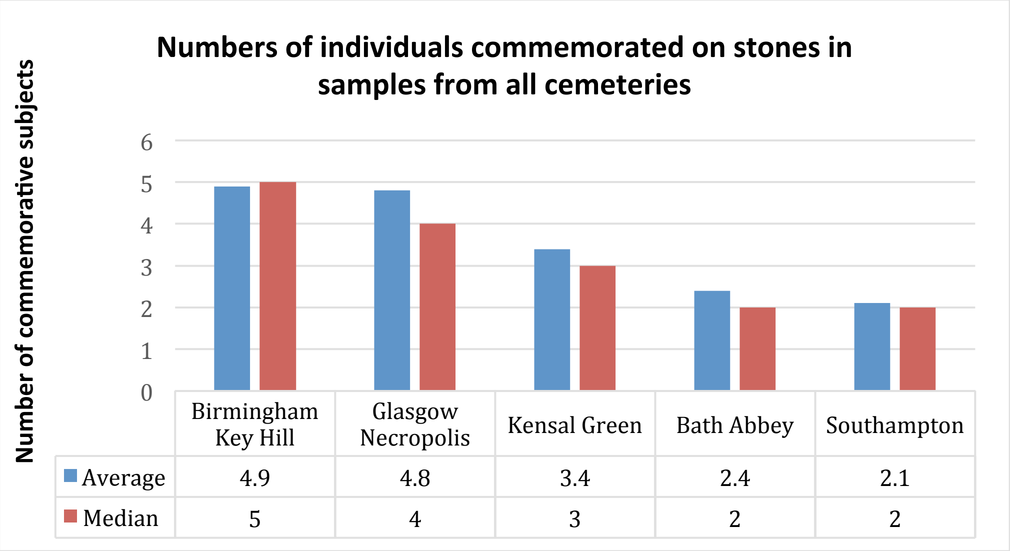


Figure 7.23 Numbers of individuals commemorated on stones in samples from all cemeteries, with the consecrated and unconsecrated sections of Kensal Green and Southampton considered together.

The implication is that the frequency with which memorials in any given site eventually came to represent commemorative objects for extended family groups was not necessarily related to the frequency with which monuments were initially dedicated to a family group. It suggests, once again, that the relationship between a memorial and the subjects it commemorated was a shifting thing, and not consistent between sites. This is again indicated with the variation in practices surrounding the explicit dedication of monuments. In Kensal Green it was not unusual for monuments to be specifically identified as belonging to a family unit through the inclusion at the beginning or end of the inscription of some variant of “this is the family grave/vault/tomb of…” followed by either the name of the head of the family or the surname of the family (40 monuments in the consecrated section of Kensal Green). This was despite the fact that on average monuments at this site were used to commemorate fewer family members on average. In the Glasgow Necropolis this form of dedication was very rarely used; there are only four instances amongst the surveyed monuments of phrases such as this.

Instead, a significant proportion of monuments in the Glasgow sample are either prefaced or concluded, in large text, by the name of either the head of the family or the monument erector, although this is usually the same person. Approximately a third of the surveyed monuments (133), are dedicated in this manner. The identification of the deceased through their relationships with living or dead family members, describing them as ‘wife of’ or ‘son of the late’ was common in all surveyed cemeteries, but the use of the family name in a prominent position is a distinct practice, indicating the overall family identity separately from the individual identity of the deceased. On these monuments the name of the deceased is graphically secondary to the name of the family; the monument is not dedicated so much to the deceased as to the family unit to which they belong.

Figure 7.24 Monument 3028 (Glasgow Necropolis), dedicated by Robert Smith to his children circa 1866. (Photograph: author, 2013.)

Figure 7.25 Monument 3063 (Glasgow Necropolis), dedicated to William Wilson, who died in 1852. (Photograph: author, 2013.)

Three variants of this form of dedication are typical; in its most common iteration, the full name of the head of the family is inscribed on the lintel at the top of the monument as an independent statement, separate from the subsequent text (for example monument 3028, Figure 7.24). Occasionally initials are used instead of a full name (monument 3063, Figure 7.25). Alternatively, and less commonly, the full name of the head is incorporated into the first sentence of the text but is in larger font than the subsequent inscription and usually sits on the lintel above the main body of writing. In the remaining instances, the family surname alone is used, either on the lintel or base of the monument.

In the other cemeteries in this sample, in Bath, Birmingham and Southampton, these forms of inscriptions, which dedicate monuments to families as well as to individuals, are very unusual. Even in Birmingham, where a high proportion of monuments were eventually occupied by multiple generations of a family, and the average number of commemorative subjects was high, there was only one example of this kind of inscription: the Reading monument (number 6044), which had 'READING' inscribed on the base. Most monuments in the Birmingham sample were dedicated explicitly to the memory of the deceased individual, their family ties listed after their name, in the same-sized font. It seems unlikely, then, that the inclusion of these inscriptions on monuments in Kensal Green and Glasgow Necropolis was a straightforward consequence of the expectation that multiple family members would eventually rest there.

Instead, they seem to be outward-facing, speaking not so much to the family members using the memorial as part of a process of grieving and commemoration, but to others, encountering the stone passingly. In the Glasgow sample, the enlargement of the family identifier and its location at the top or bottom of the stone make it easy to see from a distance, casually. They make it possible for those taking respectable, and respectful, exercise in the cemetery to recognise the ownership of these monuments without appearing to stray over the "line of demarcation between the public and the private" (Blair 1857:viii).

Blair's guide to the cemetery, published in 1857, was fastidious regarding the distinction between the monuments of public figures and those marking the losses of private individuals. He (ibid:7) is clear that the former, through their commemoration of great lives, offered stimulus and inspiration for future endeavours and therefore warranted close description and open examination. However, "He considers it no part of his duty, in traversing the silent city of the dead, to withdraw the veil which conceals the sacred memories blended with the many unostentatious virtues of domestic life" (ibid:x). These private memorials were to be enjoyed by strangers only insofar as they offer generalised "purifying, elevating impressions" as "tributes of affectionate remembrance" (ibid:7), not through their identification with specific individuals.

The dual aspect of these cemeteries, as both public spaces with much to offer the population, and as private landscapes steeped in emotion, was therefore clearly familiar to those visiting the cemetery and erecting monuments, and the conflict inherent in this duality does not seem to have been lost upon them. Blair indicates the model of behaviour expected of visitors (a model given more prosaic form in the regulations of the cemetery [Scott 2005:123]), but those erecting monuments also had to negotiate the ambiguous boundary between public and private. Kensal Green and the Glasgow Necropolis differ from the other cemeteries in this survey in several obvious ways; their scale and grandeur are in a different league, and they were resorts, not only for townspeople looking for fresh air and rational leisure, but as destinations famous in their own rights, the repositories of famous figures and impressive architecture. They were both indisputably exceptional cemeteries (Rugg 1998a:49). Those erecting monuments in these cemeteries, more than in the other three discussed in this work, were necessarily aware of the public character of the landscapes to which they were adding, and the prestige of those already associated with the place.

Even before it was a cemetery, the Fir Park had housed a monument to John Knox (although not his body). To place one's own dead amongst monuments to such illustrious figures was a privilege, and one bought at a considerable price. The plots in the Necropolis varied in cost, those in the most prominent positions at the top of the hill and overlooking the city were at a premium and the differential pricing of plots recognised this (Blair 1857:369). It was not possible to purchase a lair in the Necropolis without negotiating this aspect of the landscape, but having done so, and having successfully acquired a place among, or at least in the same cemetery as, great men, who, beyond the family, would know of the achievement? For a successful and affluent family, known within certain circles of business but not publicly renowned, Blair's 'veil' might serve to conceal a carefully acquired mark of status. An enlarged family name, placed prominently on a memorial at the beginning or end of the inscription, might allow both those erecting monuments, and those visiting the cemetery to traverse the public/private divide without infringement upon the commemoration of specific individual losses. This is not to suggest that these monuments were entirely concerned with the status of the family, but that the Janus character of the cemetery landscape was inscribed upon the monuments themselves.

Chronologically disrupted monuments

The dualistic character of both the cemetery landscape and the monuments through which it was constructed is also discernible in another aspect of monument use. In the Glasgow sample many of the surveyed monuments were the creation of complicated and sometimes disrupted chronologies, most often involving the purchasing of plots in advance of a specific death, and/or the re-erection or partial inscription of monuments. These practices disrupted the typical chronology of death → plot purchase → burial → monument erection and can be interpreted as a continuing negotiation on the part of monument erectors of the balance between the commemoration of an individual and the commemoration of a family unit, as well as between the monument's status as an entity for both public and private use.

Chronological disjunction between death, purchase and erection is uniquely detectable in the Glasgow sample as a result of the way in which plot numbers were allocated and recorded in the Necropolis. Rather than referring to a particular geographical location, plot numbers were allocated chronologically, by section, so that each site compartment contained an independent sequence running upwards from zero. Blair (ibid:369) says that this way of allocating plot numbers was chosen because the irregularity of the ground and regulations of the cemetery made it impossible to determine plots beforehand. Plot numbers therefore offer a detailed chronology of plot purchase for each area within the cemetery. These numbers were recorded in the burial record of each individual, and it has therefore been possible to ascertain the plot numbers of 347 of the 411 monuments surveyed in the Necropolis. This is a much higher than in Kensal Green, where only 155 of the 455 monuments can be associated with plot numbers because inscription of the plot number on the monument is the only source of information aside from the un-digitised and inaccessible private archives of the still extant and operational Cemetery Company. Coverage in the Birmingham sample is excellent due to the digitisation of burial records undertaken by the Jewellery Quarter Research Trust, but because plot numbers in that cemetery were associated with predetermined locations, they can offer no insight into the sequence of events surrounding the purchase and erection of monuments (see chapter four).

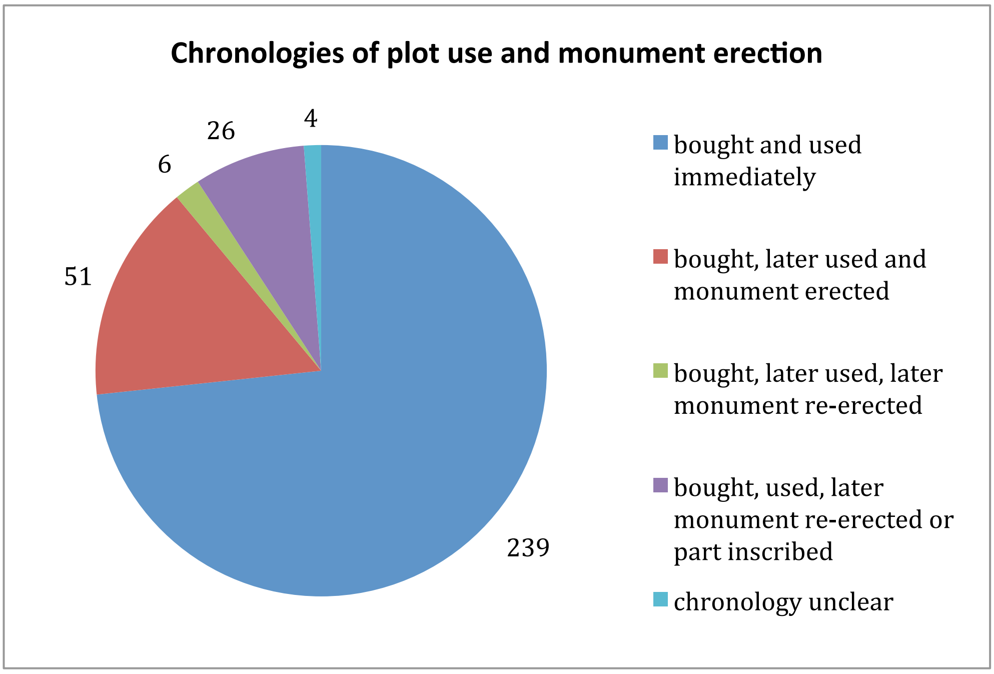


Figure 7.26 Graph showing the relative frequency with which different commemorative chronologies were identified in the Glasgow Necropolis sample.

Of the 347 monuments surveyed in the Glasgow Necropolis for which secure plot data was available, 326 could be reasonably confidently associated with a specific date of use, usually based on a primary interment, although in some cases the date of erection is stated on the monument. Of this subset of 326 monuments, 90 deviated from a model of erection based on a chronologically restricted sequence of death → plot purchase → burial → monument erection.

In other words, on nearly 30% of these memorials the sequence of inscription did not correlate with the date at which the plot was purchased, as inferred from its plot number (Figure 7.26). In contrast, of the 155 monuments with plot data in Kensal Green, such chronological dislocation was indicated in only ten instances, or a little over 6% of those for which data was available, suggesting that these extended interactions with the plot and monument are likely to have been more frequent in the Glasgow Necropolis, not just that they were more readily detectable at the Scottish site.

Of the 87 chronologically disrupted monuments in Glasgow, the majority can be categorised as belonging to four distinct groups. The largest is composed of pre-purchased plots that vary from the 'standard' chronology only in that the plot was purchased ahead of any particular death and therefore remained unused for a period of time. Fifty-one monuments in the sample fall into this category. A further six monuments fall into a secondary category of pre-purchased plots: monuments in which plot purchase appears to have happened in advance of a specific death, but which also display signs of having been subsequently altered, either through partial inscription or re-erection. The third group of monuments are those for which the date of plot purchase correlates with the date of the first interment, but the inscriptions of which suggest that the monument either dates to a later period, or was only partially inscribed in order to accommodate subsequent deaths in a predetermined order. There are 26 monuments in the survey that fall into this category. These alternative chronological trajectories are displayed in Figure 7.27.

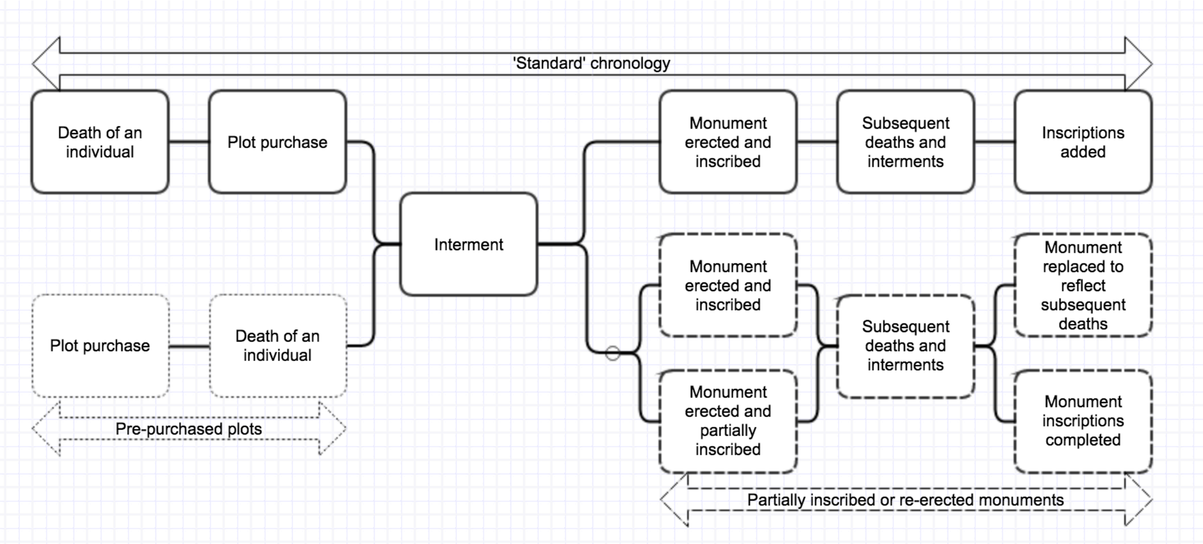


Figure 7.27 Diagram showing the alternative chronological commemorative trajectories identified in the Glasgow Necropolis sample.

Two aspects of these monuments' chronologies will be discussed below. Firstly, the pre-purchasing of plots and the insight it offers into both the internal differentiation of the site and the changing uses of monuments, and, secondly, the partial inscription or re-erection of monuments and what it suggests about the sometimes ongoing negotiation of the commemorative subjects of a memorial. There is also a fourth, small group of monuments with disrupted chronologies, for which a clear sequence of plot purchase, use, and monument erection cannot be established. There are only four of these monuments because in most cases where there is such severe ambiguity, the monument is excluded because it is not possible to be confident that they were erected during the surveyed period.

As a background to the subsequent discussion, it is worth noting that there is no indication that monuments on pre-purchased plots, or monuments that were partially inscribed or re-erected differ from the rest of the sample in terms of either their size or forms (see Figure 7.28, Figure 7.29, and Figure 7.30) The only point of variation is that probable urn bases make up a larger proportion of chronologically disrupted monuments than the chronologically standard group. This is likely to be a side effect of the fact that the majority of monuments on pre-purchased plots, which make up the largest group of chronologically disrupted monuments, date to the earliest years of the cemetery's life, which is also the period to which the highest proportion of monuments missing their top elements are dated.

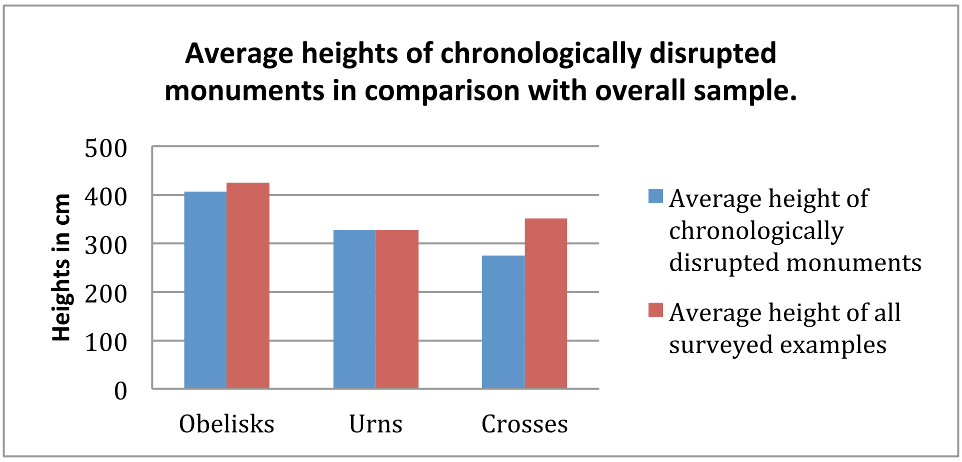


Figure 7.28 The average heights of chronologically disrupted monuments compared with the average heights of all surveyed monuments.

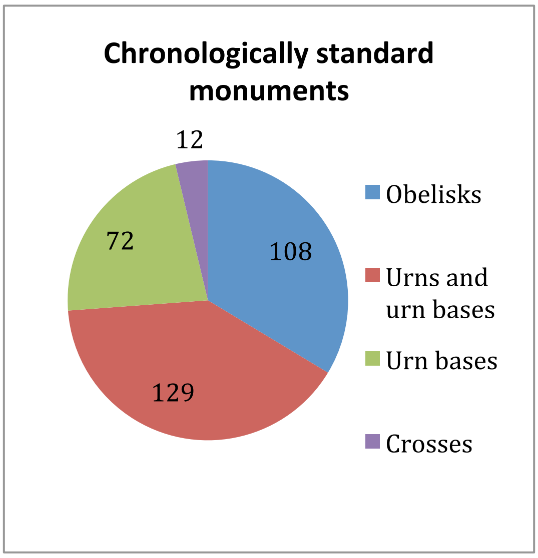


Figure 7.29 The monument types of chronologically 'standard' monuments in the Glasgow Necropolis sample.

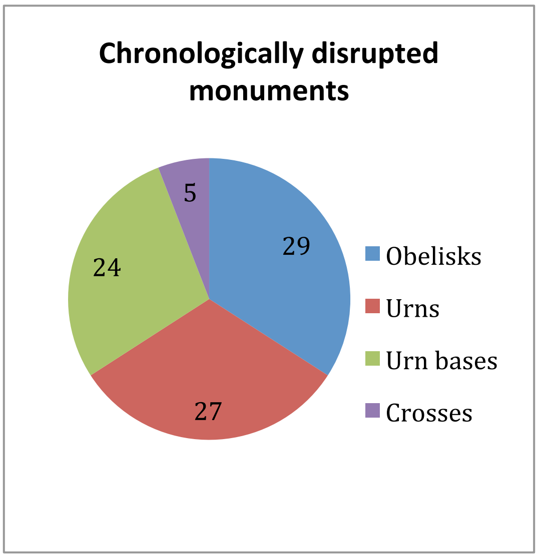


Figure 7.30 The monument types of chronologically disrupted monuments in the Glasgow Necropolis sample.

Pre-purchased Plots

Fifty-seven monuments in the sample were erected, insofar as it is possible to be certain, on plots purchased ahead of use. This is approximately one in five of the 328 monuments for which the necessary data was available. In some instances the period between the purchase of the plot and its use was brief, and it is possible that in some cases the purchase of a plot might be part of preparations for a clearly impending death (although short gaps between purchase and use are mostly undetectable). Most of the 57 monuments in this category were, however, erected on plots bought at least a year or more ahead of use, and many plots were left unused for several years or even decades. For most of these monuments the period between purchase and usage was between ten and 13 years (Figure 7.31).

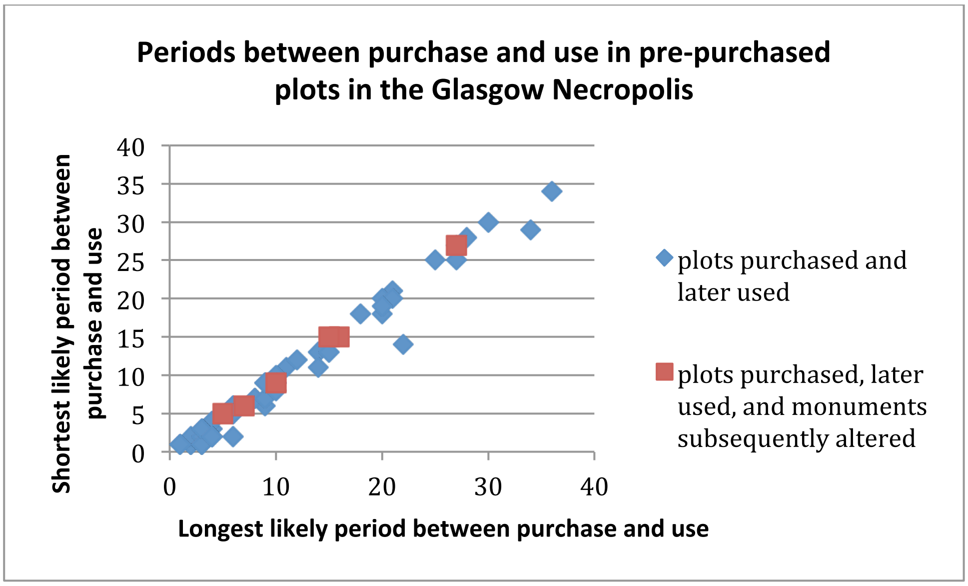


Figure 7.31 The periods between purchase and use in pre-purchased plots. These lengths of time can only be calculated as a range because they are dependent on the comparison of the dates of plot purchase and use. Monuments that were erected in a chronologically straightforward sequence after the initial hiatus between plot purchase and use are shown in blue, and plots on which monuments were subsequently altered even after the initial chronological disruption are shown in red.

The draped urn monument belonging to the Miller family (3263), standing at the top of the cemetery in compartment Omega, is a typical example (see Figure 7.32 and Figure 7.33). The plot number, Omega 67, indicates that the plot was purchased in 1846, but the first interment listed in the inscription dates to 1855, when Isabella Miller, the daughter of William and Isabella Miller, died. The chosen plot, presumably picked out by William (and perhaps his wife), was not selected as Isabella's resting place specifically (she was not even born in 1846), but as the location most suited to the commemoration of any and all members of the family. Like the family home, the lair might be identified with the family as a whole under the aegis of the head, rather than with any individual member. In this instance the parallel between lair and home is built into the memorial, as William's name and the location of the family home (in Eastwood Hill) are picked out on the lintel above the main body of the commemorative text.

Figure 7.32 Monument 3263 (Glasgow Necropolis) belonging to the Miller family. The plot was purchased in 1846, but the first commemorated interment dates to 1855. (Photograph: author, 2013.)

Figure 7.33 The position of monument 3263 within the Necropolis is marked with a red dot. (Plan of the cemetery based on the 1895 Ordinance Survey large-scale town plan, illustration author's own.)

It is not possible to know at what point the monument itself was erected, either before or after Isabella's death. Scott (2005:129) notes that in 1835 the Cemetery Committee was in discussion with one Archibald Smith on the subject of a plot space that he was purchasing in order to erect a monument for himself, in advance of his death, indicating that pre-erection was not unheard of. In other instances there is strong evidence, in the form of stated dates of erection, that monuments were not erected until after a death, indicating that the plot had been left empty in the interim (for example monument 3026, which belonged to the Barclay family). Regardless of whether a monument was erected immediately or not, it seems likely that in most cases pre-purchase was a means of guaranteeing that a place would eventually be available in the preferred spot for familial commemoration. That this was the case is indicated by the varying rates of pre-purchase undertaken in different areas of the cemetery; some areas of the cemetery were demonstrably more in demand than others. These rates indicate that a commanding view and a prominent position on a primary path were central concerns when reserving space. More broadly, they offer an insight into the internal differentiation of the site and the extent to which those using it developed a detailed and experiential knowledge of the landscape and the values (both economic and social) built into it through the interaction between purchasers, visitors, and the cemetery company.

The differential valuation of space within the cemetery did not originate with plot purchasers. The Cemetery Company itself endorsed an internally varied landscape, priced accordingly and available on a first-come-first-serve basis. The text of an 1833 advertisement for the Necropolis, published around the time of the opening of the cemetery, makes this clear:

> *"Prices will be reasonable, varying according to the extent, the eligibility of the situation, the intended ornament, and the measure of security desired... Purchasers will have the selection of Sites according to the order or dates of their intimating to the Collector of the House their readiness or intention to treat... the advantage and propriety of early applications will be apparent".* (From an unidentified newspaper fragment c.1833, reproduced in Scott 2005, figure 32)

What the rates of pre-purchase illustrate is the extent to which this practice was taken up by those using the cemetery; how this intersected with the developing landscape of the site; and how the practice changed over time. It should be borne in mind that the following discussion is based on the rates of pre-purchase calculated for each compartment on the basis of the monuments surveyed. It can therefore only comment on the proportion of urns, obelisks and crosses erected on pre-purchased plots, not the overall rate of plot-pre-purchase, but this is the only way, with the available data, to approach the question of differential plot pre-purchasing across the cemetery landscape.

As the map below shows, the site as it exists today is much larger than the original, the oldest part occupying the west face of the hill which has its summit in compartments Kappa and Omega, plateauing to the south in compartment Sigma, and to the west in what was to become compartment Epsilon. The Knox memorial stands in compartment Kappa, overlooking the Cathedral and marks the visual centre of the cemetery. It is in the oldest sections of the cemeteries, the compartments on the west face of the hill, surrounding the main paths to the top and looking down over the High Church, that the highest rates of plot pre-purchase are found.

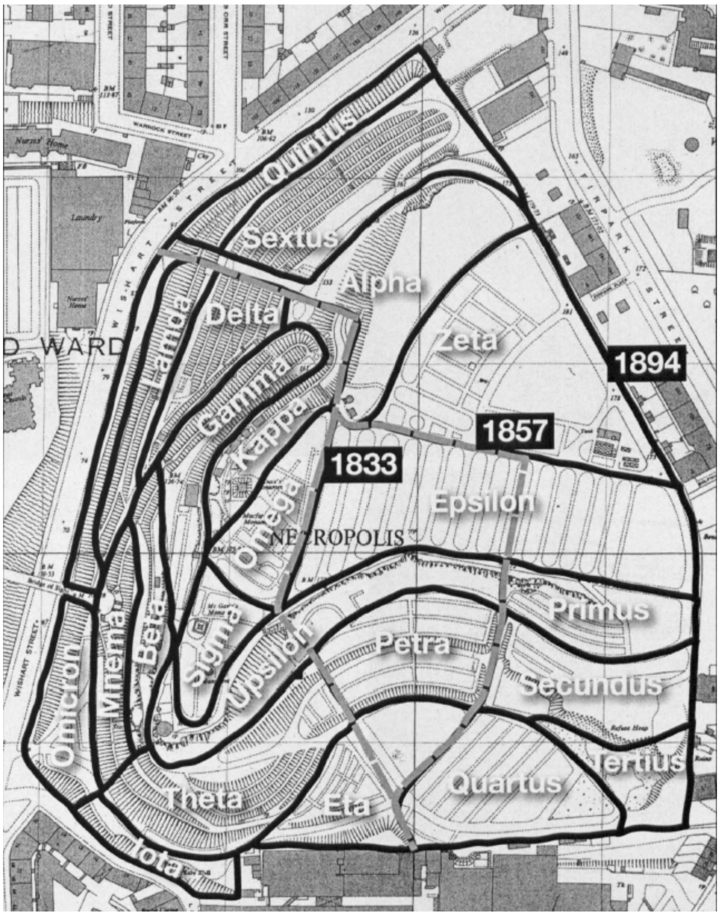


Figure 7.34 Map of the compartments and extension dates at the Glasgow Necropolis shown in Scott 2005 and based on the 1895 Ordinance Survey large scale town plan, reproduced courtesy of the National Library of Scotland.

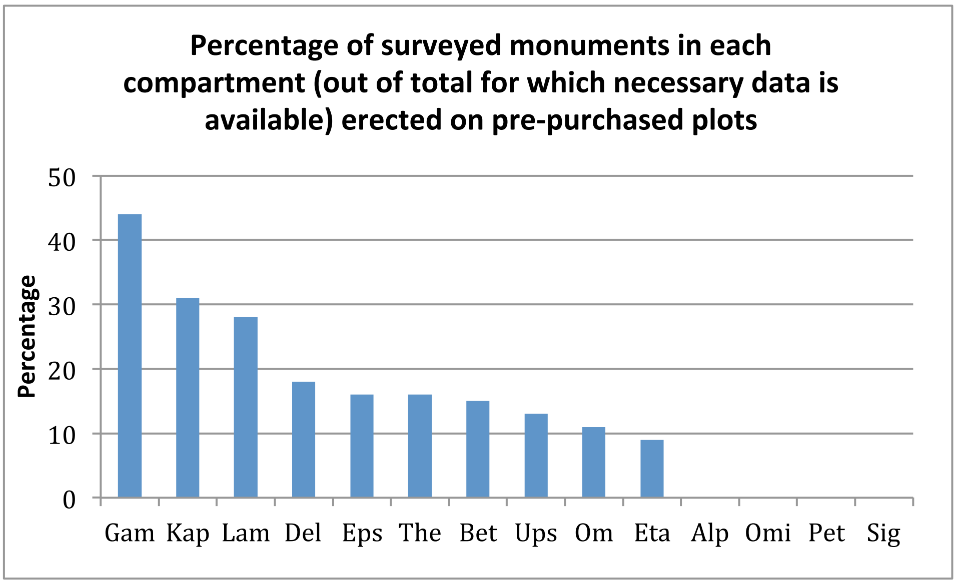


Figure 7.35 Percentage of surveyed monuments in each compartment erected on pre-purchased plots, calculated from the total of monuments for which the necessary data is available.

In compartment Gamma, over 40% of monuments for which the necessary data was available were erected on a pre-purchased plot, the highest proportion in any compartment. The first plot number in the survey of this area dates to 1834, and plot sales were rapid over the next decade, so that by 1842 plot numbers were in the 140s. The compartment is encircled by two of the main paths that wind up the hill towards the summit, the higher and more easterly of which was eventually bordered by elaborate mausolea and the Egyptian Vaults. The compartment's plots were laid out on several intersecting levels along these paths and overlooked the High Church and the city beyond commanding both views and visibility, features repeated in two other compartments with high rates of pre-purchase, Kappa and Lamda.

In compartment Kappa, eight of the 26 monuments surveyed (and for which the necessary data was available) were on previously purchased plots. In Lamda these figures were six out of 25. Like Gamma, both compartments boasted clear, direct views of the High Church, Lamda offering two long promenades stacked above each other and running along the western edge of the site, while Kappa hugged the north and east borders of Gamma and rose to the crest of the hill. They were also, like Gamma, in use soon after the opening of the site, the earliest surveyed plots dating to 1834 (Lamda) and 1838 (Kappa), and both experienced rapid plot sales in the first ten years of use.

In contrast to these compartments, three of the areas with the lowest rates of pre-purchase were on the periphery of the site, were not in use during the first decade after the cemetery opened, and experienced only gradual plot sales thereafter. Omicron is the furthest southwest compartment in the cemetery, and the oldest surveyed plot-number dates to 1846, over ten years after the cemetery opened. Only three monuments of the type selected for survey were found in this compartment, indicating that during the period surveyed this was not a popular area of the cemetery for those looking to erect the kinds of expensive monuments included in this study. This was probably due to its inferior position, below the High Church; bordered by the grubby Molendinar Burn until in the 1870s it was culverted and became Wishart St; and facing a grain mill on its south side. Similarly, Petra and Alpha were not used until well after the opening of the cemetery; Petra was added to the southeast corner of the site in 1857, overlooked by compartment Epsilon on the hill above. At the other end of the cemetery, Alpha represented the northern extremity of the site, though the majority of the compartment was not added until the 1890s, and the small section of it that was in use before then did not enjoy extensive plot sales.

When this selection of areas is considered, pre-purchasing appears to be a correlate of early plot sales. This pattern is interesting for the fact that pre-plot sales decreased after the 1840s, and for what it suggests about the sometimes disjointed relationship between the processes of commemoration and bereavement. It does not, however, offer much more insight into the valuation and use of space within the cemetery than rates of plot purchase more generally. Rates of plot sales and pre-sales during the 1830s and 1840s both appear to have been highest in areas that enjoyed views of the High Church and were close to the main routes for promenading the site. The implication is that access, visibility, and conceptual proximity to the High Church were the primary points of value for early cemetery users, regardless of whether they needed the plot immediately or were reserving it for future use. However, rates of plot purchase and pre-purchase in the 1830s and 1840s were not consistently correlated, as compartments Delta and Sigma illustrate, suggesting that pre-purchased plots were not always selected along the same lines as those being used immediately.

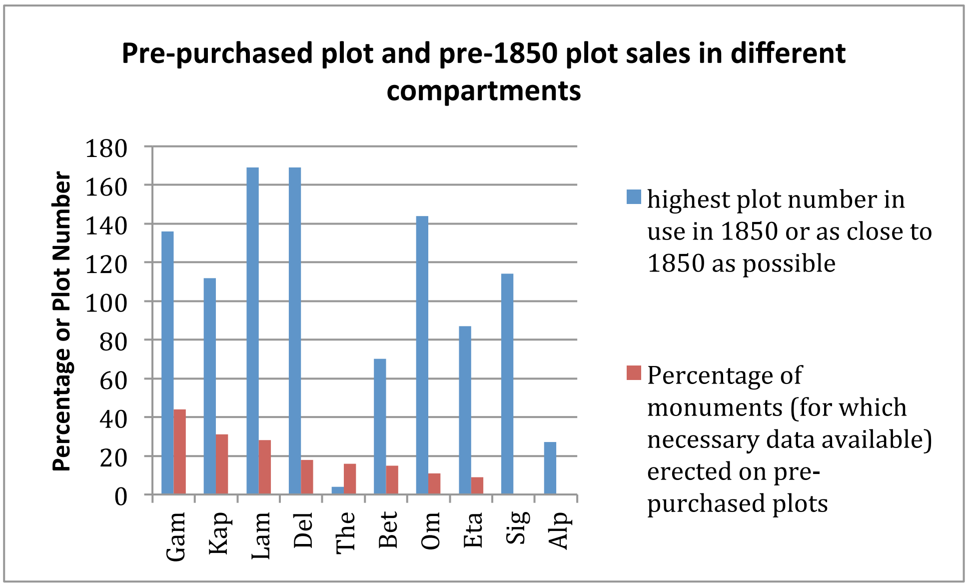


Figure 7.36 Pre-purchased plots and plot sales pre 1850 in different compartments within the Glasgow Necropolis.

Compartment Delta, despite displaying all the above named characteristics (views, visibility, early use, and a high rate of plot sales) does not exhibit high rates of plot pre-purchase. Delta is a triangular area wedged between compartments Lamda and Gamma, bordered on both its west and southeast sides by major paths and consisting of five rows of monuments stacked above one another up the side of the hill, all directly facing the High Church. Plot sales were rapid during the first years of the cemetery's use, nearly 170 having been sold by 1841. On the basis of its popularity and position, compartment Delta might well be expected to have had rates of pre-purchase comparable to those found in its neighbours Gamma and Lambda. However, of the 38 monuments surveyed in compartment Delta for which the necessary data was available, only seven were constructed on plots purchased before their use. This represents a rate of about 18% of surveyed monuments standing on pre-purchased plots, considerably lower than its two most direct neighbours, instead resembling rates seen in compartments which were not used until the 1840s (Beta, Omega) or which did not enjoy either a commanding view, or a position on a main path (Theta, Upsilon).

Counter-intuitively, one possible explanation is the extremely high rate of plot sales that the compartment experienced between 1833 and 1837. The highest plot number recorded in the compartment is 170, sold in the late 1840s. By 1837, 149 plots had already been sold, indicating that the compartment was nearly 90% full. Even in comparison with other compartments in which plot sales in the 1830s and 1840s were rapid, the sale of plots in Delta in the period up to 1837 was extraordinary. As of 1837 90 plots had sold in Gamma, just over 50% of the estimated final total. In Lambda 56 of a total of 187, or just under 30%, had been sold. Delta was the very first compartment in which sales really took off, and this may have been partially due to the policy of speculative construction pursued by the Cemetery Committee during this period. Minutes from a meeting of the Committee in March 1833 (Scott 2005:155) indicate that compartment Delta was the planned location of a set of vaults ready for immediate use, similar to, but larger and more elaborate than, some vaults that had already been constructed at the southern end of the site, and complete with spaces left for monuments to be erected. These vaults, combined with its position facing the High Church, may account for the early and rapid sales of plots there, so that within the first four years of opening, when most of the cemetery was barely in use, the vast majority of space there had been sold. It is possible that this rate of development deterred early pre-purchasers, as the area would clearly be full so soon, the increasing crowding of the slopes making the landscape less desirable than the more gradually developing Gamma.

Compartment Sigma provides another apparent anomaly that disrupts the narrative of pre-purchase as a neat correlate of early plot-sales more generally. Sigma was in use as early as 1836 and, until 1846, the rate of plot purchase there was equal to that found in its northerly neighbour, compartment Omega. By 1846, the survey shows that there were four pre-purchased plots in Omega, but none in Sigma. No pre-purchased plots have been identified in Sigma throughout the entire surveyed period. Unlike other compartments containing no pre-purchased plots, Sigma was not peripheral to the original site (as Alpha, Omicron, and Iota were), nor was it lacking direct access via main paths (like Mnema); it stands near the top of the hill, just below the Knox memorial, and looks both west towards the High Church and south over the city. Why the rate of pre-purchase there should be so low as to be non-existent is not obvious, but clearly it cannot easily be pegged to rates of plot purchase generally.

What does seem likely is that pre-purchases were based on a direct assessment of the cemetery landscape, and experience of the views, pathways, and developing monumental body. In comparison to those needing a plot for immediate use, pre-purchasers were able to spend more time becoming familiar with the entire site, were unconstrained by the availability of plots in the immediate future, and were better placed to assess the continuing development of the site. Hence, perhaps, the divergence between rates of purchase and pre-purchase in compartment Delta. The pattern of pre-purchase is based directly on the knowledge gained by moving through the space as a visitor, using the paths to reach the top of the hill, and seeing the views afforded by the different vantage points along the way. These activities were intrinsic to the choosing of a plot, and in light of this it seems unhelpful to divide the discussion of the practice according to compartment boundaries. Such a division would entail too close a focus on the map and not enough on the territory. Some of the compartments in the cemetery have a topographical logic and coherence; they are encountered as a unit, their boundaries self-evident and their contents comparatively homogenous. Delta and Epsilon are like this, but even here, there is a great variation; the difference between a plot on the main path, and one wedged somewhere in the midst of several rows.

Other compartments do not even offer superficial consistency, some are bounded by lines that are not easily discerned on the ground, or encompass quite contrasting areas that are mutually concealed or offer quite different prospects. Kappa is an example of this; the southern end of the compartment encompasses the Knox monument; is the focal centre of the entire site; and is divided from compartment Omega by no more than a secondary path, the two sections running uninterrupted one into the other. The north end of the compartment, contrastingly, comprised the northeastern-most periphery of the site until it was extended in 1857, and curves westwards down the slope of the hill, offering a quite different setting secluded from the major memorials of the upper section. Likewise, although all of the plots in compartment Gamma afford views of the High Church, the switchback of the path up the steep slope means that a row of plots is sandwiched in between two levels, removed from the upper and lower sections of the path by rows of monuments, isolated and somewhat hidden.

To discuss compartments as if they were meaningful units of variation, each defining a consistent set of characteristics, is simply not accurate. Their utility in calculating comparative rates of pre-purchase is significant, but they are blunt instruments when it comes to considering the selection of burial space as a consequence of engagement with the developing cemetery landscape. On the broadest scale, looking at the cemetery landscape as a whole, it is clear that pre-purchase is closely associated with the northern half of the cemetery as it existed up to 1857, encompassing the top of the site and the areas facing the High Church on the slope of the hill. These areas contained nearly 90% of pre-purchased plots and only six examples were identified in the southern areas of the site that sloped down from the entrance over the Bridge of Sighs.

As was noted earlier, a distinctive aspect of pre-purchasing is that it was predominantly a phenomenon of the first decade of the cemetery's use. Over half of all pre-purchased plots were bought before 1841, the number falling sharply after this point and continuing to decrease each decade thereafter. This is not mirrored in the surveyed trajectory of monument erection, which remained relatively consistent before increasing during the 1860s. As a proportion of plot purchase overall, pre-purchased plots represented a smaller and smaller sub-group over time. Whereas only a little over 20% of surveyed monuments (with a secure date) were erected during the period up to 1841, over 50% of pre-purchased plots were bought during the same interval.

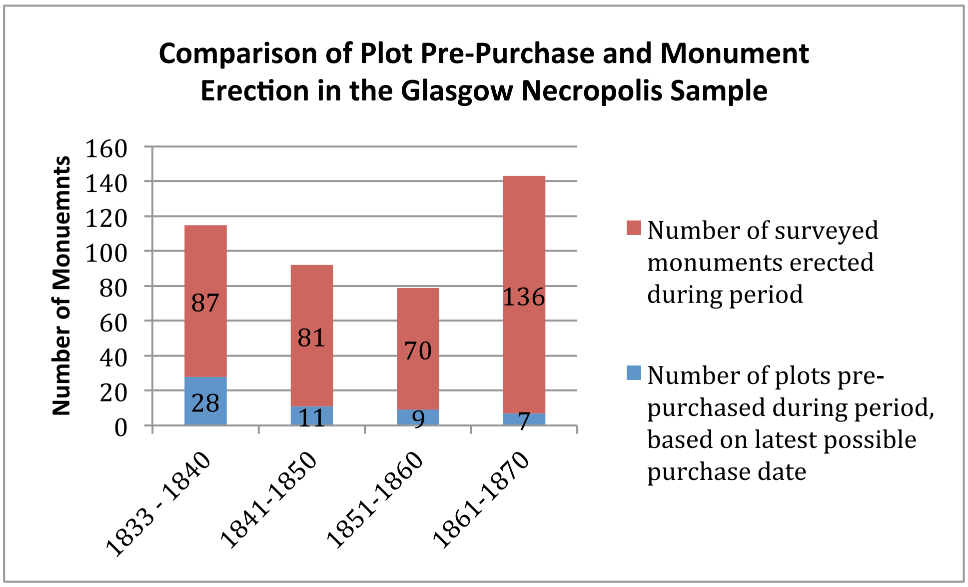


Figure 7.37 Comparison of plot pre-purchase and monument erection in the Glasgow Necropolis sample across the period surveyed.

There are several factors that might have contributed to the reduction in pre-purchase of plots over time, and it is worth considering both the proximate circumstances of the Necropolis and wider shifts in burial practice. It is, however, difficult to assess the relative importance of these factors without a comparative sample with equivalent fine-grained data relating to sequences of purchase and use. Looking first at the context of the Necropolis, it is possible that its unique position during the first decade of its operation, contributed to the initially high rate of pre-purchase. Throughout the 1830s the Necropolis was the only facility in the city providing spacious, secure space for interment and commemoration in perpetuity. Even St Mungo's burial ground, opened in 1832 did not seriously compete; it was literally looked down upon by the larger cemetery and tainted by its early use as a burial ground for cholera victims. Until Sighthill was opened in 1840 to the north of the city, and the Southern Necropolis to the south in 1841, the Necropolis was effectively the only choice as an alternative to using the overcrowded burial grounds of the various churches within the city. This monopoly could well have contributed to the high levels of pre-purchase in the first years after the cemetery opened, as families and individuals bought plots in order to guarantee avoiding the alternative burial options. Once other cemeteries opened and it became clear that space in these facilities was not going to run out, pre-purchase decreased.

Another potential factor even more specific to the Necropolis was the changing approach of the Cemetery Committee to plot sales. During the first years after the site opened, the Committee was eager to establish the cemetery and begin to get back some of the money that the Merchants' House had invested in the project. Accordingly, they took multiple measures to encourage plots sales and the erection of substantial monuments. This included directly encouraging pre-purchase by suggesting that the best plots would sell rapidly, as the advertisement quoted above testified: "*the advantage and propriety of early applications will be apparent*" (unidentified newspaper fragment c.1833, reproduced in Scott 2005, figure 32). They also constructed a number of lairs speculatively (Scott 2005:154), and donated plots to groups and individuals planning to erect 'significant' monuments (ibid:130). In 1837 the Committee stopped building lairs speculatively and giving away plots as the cemetery was deemed to be sufficiently established. It may well be the case that direct encouragement of pre-purchase also stopped around this time, and that the pattern of decreasing pre-purchase is a consequence of this.

It is also possible that the decline in plot pre-sales was part of a broader pattern of change in burial practices, either at a regional level or across Britain. However, large-scale patterns seem unlikely, given the variation between the surveyed sites in terms of the numbers of individuals commemorated by monuments and the ways in which they were grouped through the use of inscriptions. It seems likely that there was equivalent variation in the extent to which the purchase of plots and erection of monuments was undertaken as an entirely individual-specific activity, tied to a particular loss, as opposed to a familial concern. Unfortunately, without data as fine-grained as that available at the Glasgow Necropolis, comparison of pre-purchasing practices with the other surveyed sites is not possible.

Partially Inscribed or re-erected monuments

In comparison to pre-purchased plots, monuments that appear to have been either partially inscribed or re-erected after the plot's initial use comprise a much smaller group. In 26 instances the chronologies presented on the inscriptions of monuments suggest that the stone either post-dates the first interment (described as re-erected monuments because it is likely that they replaced older stones and are therefore the result of a secondary erection), or that it had been inscribed in such a way as to allow subsequent 'filling in'. In a further six instances there appears to have also been a hiatus between plot purchase and plot use, as well as re-erection or partial inscription (these latter monuments were discussed above as part of the practice of plot pre-purchase, but are considered again here).

In many cases it is difficult to definitively differentiate between monuments which have been partially inscribed and those which post-date the initial interment, but the majority of the monuments discussed here are more likely to belong to the latter category than the former. For example, the first eight lines inscribed on the Turnbull monument (3226) in compartment Beta (plot 31) read:

IN MEMORY OF
ANTHONY TURNBULL, ESQR,
MANUFACTURER
WHO DIED 12TH JUNE, 1847, AGED 62.
AND HIS DAUGHTER MARGARET,
WHO DIED 20TH MAY 1844,
AGED 2 YEARS AND 4 MONTHS;
ALSO A SON IN INFANCY.

The burial records indicate that Margaret was interred in plot 31 in compartment Beta in 1844, and that Anthony joined her there three years later. Given the syntax of the lines it is possible that Anthony's date of death was simply omitted, leaving space for his eventual mortality, or that a truncated version of the final text was inscribed. For example:

IN MEMORY OF
ANTHONY TURNBULL, ESQR,
MANUFACTURER
WHO DIED ~~12TH JUNE, 1847, AGED 62.~~

AND HIS DAUGHTER MARGARET,
WHO DIED 20TH MAY 1844,
AGED 2 YEARS AND 4 MONTHS;
ALSO A SON IN INFANCY.

There are no definitive examples of such partial inscription in the Glasgow Necropolis, but there are in the Kensal Green sample. The Weston memorial in Kensal Green (monument 0182), continued being used into the 20th century, and one of the later inscriptions reads:

Figure 7.38 Monument 0182 (Kensal Green consecrated section), the family vault of John Weston, in which James Weston Clayton was later buried. (Photograph: author, 2012.)

JAMES WESTON CLAYTON

BORN JAN 23 1831

DIED OCT 21 1914

ALSO

JULIA CLAYTON

WIFE OF THE ABOVE

BORN SEP 30 1821

DIED ____

There is also evidence, provided by contemporary guidebooks, that this practice was not uncommon in Kensal Green during the surveyed period. Clark (1843:65) describes two monuments that, through the leaving of empty spaces in their inscriptions anticipate the final reunion of loved ones in death, thereby “joining the future to the past”. He (ibid:65) quotes one inscription that reads: “Her husband endured his heavy affliction until the ___day of ___ 18__, when he entered his __th year”. There is something unappealingly morbid about this habit to 21st century eyes, but Clark (ibid:65) reads it as a moving testament to the misery of bereavement: “there is in these *blanks* a touching eloquence, which tells us, that human life is deprived of its sole charm, ... and that the sufferer is patiently waiting the summons to depart” (emphasis in the original). Clark leaves the reader uncertain, however, as to whether the 'summons to depart' heralds heavenly reunion or simply an end to worldly suffering.

There is no mention of monuments inscribed in this way in the Glasgow Necropolis guidebooks, but this does not necessarily mean that it did not take place there. The difference between the Weston Monument, the examples cited by Clark and the re-erected or partially inscribed monuments in the Glasgow sample is that whereas the former listed the deaths in chronological order and presented the initial commemorative subject at the top of the inscription, the latter were mostly arranged in a chronologically disrupted pattern (and thus could be identified). The result is that monuments like the Turnbull memorial, regardless of whether partially inscribed or re-erected, were managed in such a way as to guarantee that a specific individual, usually the head of the household, was inscribed at the top of the memorial (Figure 7.39). The primary concern in this is not so much articulating the pain of loss but negotiating the commemorative focus of the monument itself.

It is also distinct, to some extent, from the practice of inscribing the head of the family's name at the top or bottom of the monument. In those instances, the name is not evoked in specific individual commemoration, but as an identifier for the rest of the family, and as an indicator of ownership for non-family-members encountering the monument. The Turnbull inscription, whether as the result of careful pre-planning or the erection of a new monument upon the event of his death, did more than this; it reoriented the commemorative focus of the monument to conform to the structure of family precedence.

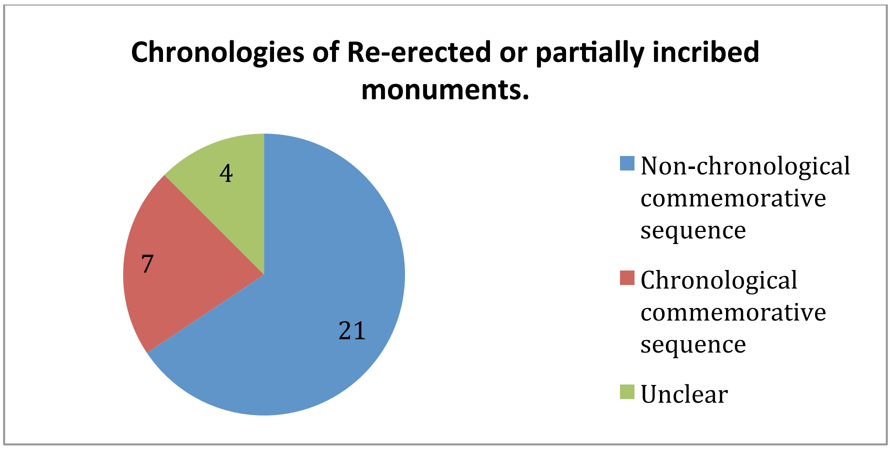


Figure 7.39 Chronologies of re-erected or partially inscribed monuments in the Glasgow Necropolis sample.

Twenty-one of the 32 monuments under discussion here were treated in this manner, having been either partially inscribed or, more likely, re-erected, in order to prioritise specific family members in the commemorative sequence, contrary to the chronology of deaths. Of these, 14% placed the male head of the family above a predeceased child or children; two placed the head above his predeceased wife; and in five examples mothers or pairs of parents were placed above predeceased children. In no instance was a child's death prioritised over that of an adult, nor was an adult woman ever prioritised over a predeceased man. The placement of the head's name at the top of the stone suggests that although the chronology of loss was a sufficient structuring principle for most commemoration, it could occasionally be trumped by an idealised, and generally patriarchal, familial structure.

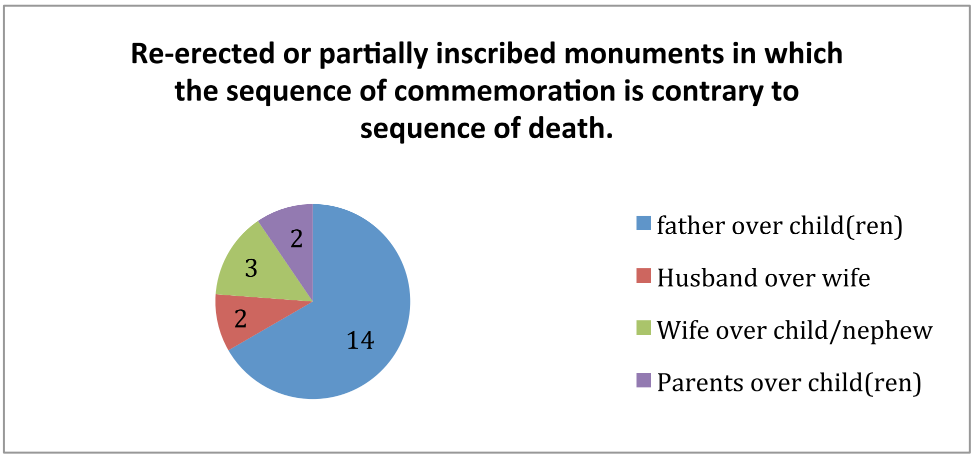


Figure 7.40 Graph showing the commemorative subjects prioritised through either the partial inscription or re-erection.

Not all of these monuments were adjusted in order to adhere to such familial hierarchies. Seven monuments in the sample displayed no rearrangement of the commemorative subjects but were clearly re-erected at some point after the plot's first use. Most of these were labelled with a date of erection post-dating the first interment, and the rest were identified as subsequent re-erections by the phrasing of their inscriptions. It is possible that a larger group of re-erected monuments, lacking either of these indicators, is undetected within the sample. Typical of these re-erected monuments which display no alteration to the sequence of commemoration is the Watson memorial in compartment Omega (3274), which belonged to the family of John Watson Junior (1819-1898), a wealthy Glasgow coalmaster. The monument was erected in 1860; we know this because that date is inscribed just above the main text, just beneath the lintel, which is marked with John Watson Junior's name in the manner described in an earlier section. The inscription reads:

JOHN WATSON JUN^{R}
1860
IN MEMORY OF
HIS INFANT SON,
BORN 7TH OCT. 1850, DIED 8TH
OCT. 1850.
AGNES, HIS DAUGHTER,
BORN 9TH DEC. 1849, DIED 23RD
MAY 1856.
JOHN, HIS SON,
BORN 18TH JAN. 1853, DIED 19TH
MAR. 1860.
AGNES SIMPSON,
WIFE OF JOHN WATSON,
(FORMERLY JOHN WATSON
JUNR)
BORN 20TH MAY 1828, DIED 1ST
APRIL 1876.
SIR JOHN WATSON,
1ST BARONET OF EARNOCK,
(FORMERLY JOHN WATSON
JUNR)
BORN 9TH JULY 1819, DIED 26TH
SEPT. 1898.

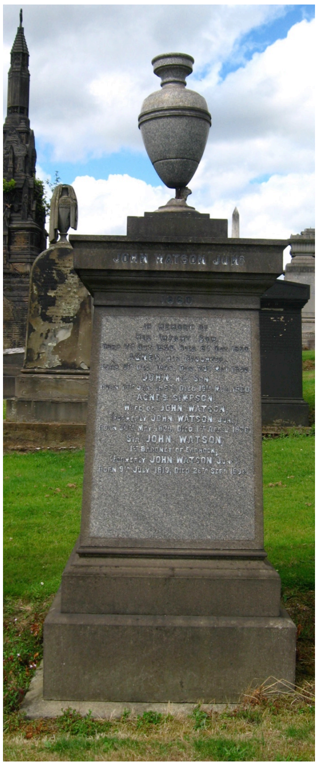


Figure 7.41 Monument 3274 (Glasgow Necropolis) John Watson Junior monument, erected after the death of John and Agnes Watson's third son, in 1860. Note also the weakening stem of the urn element. (Photograph: author, 2013.)

The burial records and plot number confirm that the infant son who died in 1850 was buried in this plot, followed by six-year-old Agnes in 1856. We are left to wonder what form of memorial stood over the plot until the death of seven-year-old John in 1860 provided the catalyst for this new memorial. Whatever the previous memorial was, given the point in John Watson's live at which it was replaced, it is likely that the change involved increased cost as well as perceived improvement.

John Watson was, according to his obituary in the *Scotsman* (27 September 1898, page 6), the "architect of his own fortunes" and, although he was the son of a coalmaster, his own success, which culminated in his receiving a Baronetcy in 1898, was not entirely inherited. He established his own house of business in the middle of the 1840s and by 1870 was in a position to purchase two estates for the production of coal rather than leasing fields from others. The intervening years appear to have been ones of increasing financial and social stature, as a comparison of the family's census returns in 1851 and 1861 illustrates; the family moved out the centre of the city to Park Crescent in the fashionable Woodlands Hill area of the West End, and doubled the number of servants in their employ, from two to four. In this light, it seems possible that the decision to erect a new monument was a response to the improved financial status of the family as well as to the death of the child John.

Acknowledging that improved economic status may have played a role in the re-erection of this monument is not, however, the same as attributing it to a desire to display in one more arena of life the upgraded circumstances of the family, as if a memorial was equivalent to a new address or an additional member of household staff. Certainly, the inscription of John Watson's name on the lintel of the memorial might indicate that one eye of the erector was upon the public aspect of the monument and its audience, but this does not negate the more intimate significance of a renewed monument. The new stone marked the burial of not one child but three, and was perhaps a way of recognising this accumulated loss. The financial security of the Watsons might simply have made this emotionally potent gesture a possibility.

There is no consistency within this small group of monuments, either in terms of their commemorative subjects or the contexts of their erections. Some were erected in response to specific deaths (monument 3374), some to replace damaged stones (monument 3056), others may not have been replacements but simply delayed commemorative projects (monuments 3371 and 3202). Some commemorated groups of children (monuments 3374 and 3028), some husbands (monument 3371) and parents (monument 3295), while others were erected by groups of friends and colleagues (monuments 3202 and 3056). The time elapsed also varied, from a year or two, to well over a decade. Some, like the Watson monument, were made possible by improvements in fortune, but it is not possible to establish whether this was the case for a majority of these monuments.

Assessing the temporal spread of this group of monuments is problematic because of the frequent ambiguity as to whether a memorial has been re-erected or partially inscribed. In eight instances the date of erection is stated on the monument; most of these were re-erected after 1850, and the average minimum possible time lapse between the initial use of the plot and the re-erection of the monument is just over ten years. If it is assumed that the rest of this group of monuments were also re-erected rather than partially inscribed, this pattern is repeated, with the majority of monuments dating to post-1850, and the average minimum period between first use and putative re-erection coming in at just under ten years. Clearly this is not a definitive picture, as a proportion of these monuments may well have been partially inscribed, but it suggests that whereas pre-purchase became increasingly unpopular during the 1850s and 1860s, the alteration of monuments did not. This may have largely been a result of the increasingly large existing body of monuments which could be altered. With an average time lapse of approximately ten years between initial use and putative alteration (or inscription completion) the higher number or re-erections in the 1850s and 1860s may be partly a reflection of the fact that more monuments were in use.

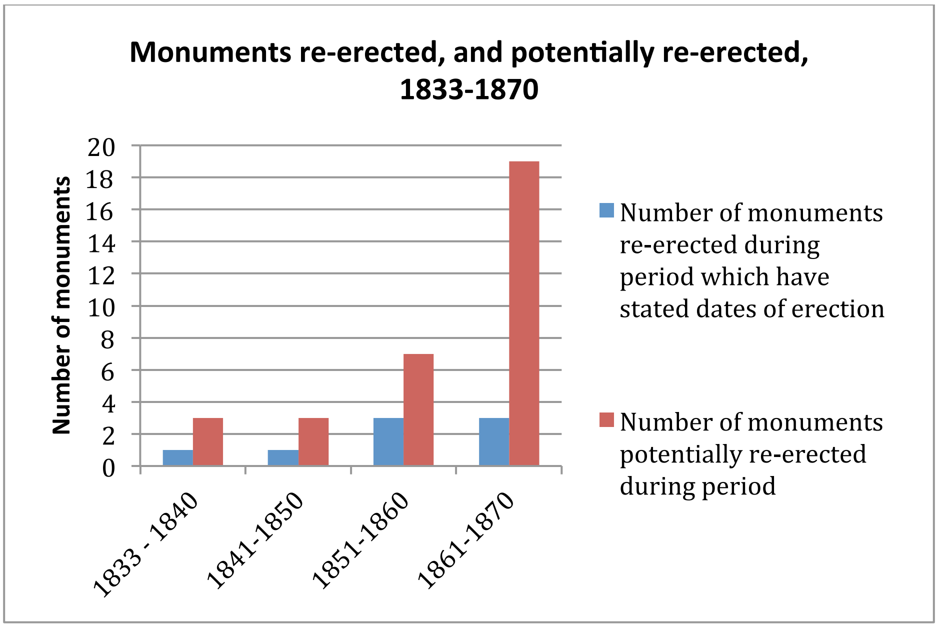


Figure 7.42 The numbers of re-erected and potentially re-erected (or partially inscribed) monuments in the Glasgow Necropolis sample across the surveyed period.

Conclusion

The Glasgow Necropolis sample offers an unmatched insight into the potential for chronological disruption in monument use and commemorative practice. As Mytum (2002:1) pointed out in his analysis of monument dating, the erection of a monument was the result of a "contextualised decision-making process", and these are often obscured by the dependence on monument inscriptions for dating. The chronologically disrupted monuments in the Glasgow Necropolis reveal a little more detail about these processes, at least insofar as they intersect with the extended use of plot and monument over time. Firstly, the differential rates of plot purchase and pre-purchase throughout the cemetery attest to the familiarity with the changing commemorative landscape of those buying plots in advance. The apparent rejection of the rapidly filling compartment Delta by those buying plots in advance of specific need speaks to the role that visiting the site, possibly repeatedly, and developing a knowledge of its changing commemorative landscape had in the selection of lair locations. The pre-purchasing of plots also indicates the importance of securing a prime spot in the cemetery, not for any individual specifically but for the family as a whole. This interest in obtaining the best space available could be read as an indication that these families were preoccupied with status attainment and display, and this seems to be borne out to some extent in the practice of marking monuments' lintels or bases with either the family name or the name of the head of the family, as if advertising to the casual viewer the ownership of the memorial.

The re-erected or partially inscribed monuments, and those dedicated to multiple family members, also illustrate, however, that the allocation and ongoing negotiation of commemorative priority, and the grouping of family members (either in name or practice), may relate as much to inwards-facing concerns as to the externally oriented articulation of familial identity. The reinterring of predeceased relatives from elsewhere speaks to the desire for family unity and, although the re-erection of monuments may be read as an opportunity to improve status display, it is equally possible that such renewals of commemorative material were found to be a more satisfying means of marking a new loss than simply adding an inscription. These monuments are both public and private, and both must be recognised when attempting to trace the decisions and concerns of their erectors. Furthermore, the generally patriarchal context in which these practices took place must be acknowledged. Most of the partially inscribed or re-erected monuments in which the chronological order of the deaths was disrupted in order to prioritise a particular family member, were reorganised so that the male head of the family was at the head of the list.

What these monuments illustrate more than anything else is that the commemorative practices through which monuments were created did not stop when the monument was erected. Both monuments and the landscape they created continued to be made and remade over time, through the ongoing interaction of site users with them and monument erectors' continuing delicate negotiation of both the public landscape that they created, and the private emotional terrain that they constituted.

Monumental Masons

Just as the construction of the commemorative landscape continued after the erection of each monument, it also began, in some sense, before this point in time. The process of choosing a plot was alluded to in the previous section, in relation to the assessment of the speed at which different areas of the site were being filled and the decision to pre-purchase plot space. This necessarily involved visits to the site, which might be undertaken with the explicit aim of buying land there, or might be a leisure activity. Aside from interacting directly with the landscape, another important element in the process of commemoration was the interaction of monument erectors with monumental masons. This was necessarily the case in all of the sites in this study, as domestic production of monuments was very unusual in urban centres by the 1830s, and none of the surveyed monuments showed signs of being produced by amateurs. However, in a very literal way, monumental masons are much more present in the Glasgow Necropolis sample than in the other cemeteries in this study; over half of the surveyed stones are inscribed with their producer's name, more than double the rate found in any of the other samples.

Cemetery	Percentage Marked Monuments	Number of Masons Identified
Glasgow Necropolis	52% - (214/409)	51 masons (+5 architects)
Kensal Green	16% - (71/455)	23
Bath Abbey	10% - (4/41)	4
Birmingham Key Hill	25% - (14/55)	8
Southampton	8% - (3/36)	3

Figure 7.43 Proportion of surveyed monuments signed by masons in the different samples, and the number of masons represented by these practices.

The Glasgow Necropolis sample therefore presents a much stronger basis from which to consider the structure of the monumental masonry industry in Glasgow and the relationship between monument erectors and the masons that produced their memorials. The high rate of monument-marking at the site does, however, raise the question as to why such differential rates of stone signing should be found at different sites, as well as what these marks were intended to achieve, both on the part of masons and monument erectors. The fact that the only two mason's marks found in more than one cemetery were Aberdeen firms raises the possibility that the practice may have been characteristic of Scottish masons more generally rather than just those working in Glasgow.

As well as the stone-signing data, the study of masons in relation to the Glasgow sample is facilitated by the preservation of a job-book belonging to the single most prolific identifiable mason in the Necropolis. The Mossman job-book for January 1835 to July 1839 (MJB 1835-1839) provides detailed information on how masons interacted with customers and sheds light on the internal workings of the trade itself. One other set of mason's records have been found during the course of this study: a series of ledgers, day-books and order books from the 19th century belonging to Garrett and Haysom in Southampton. Unlike the Mossman records, however, these cannot be associated with specific monuments within the cemetery, and offer far less narrative detail regarding the process of monument sales, although they do contain information on some aspects of practice not covered in the Mossman book.

In combination, the high rate of monument-marking and the Mossman job-book provide unmatched evidence for the seldom-discussed role that monumental masons played in the process of monument selection. A significant exception to the generally sparse discussion of this relationship is Buckham's detailed work on the monumental masons at York Cemetery (1999, 2000), which provides a major point of reference in this discussion.

Stonemasons in Glasgow and the Glasgow Necropolis

Fifty-four different stonemasonry businesses were identified in the Glasgow Necropolis sample, etched into the fabric of more than half of the surveyed stones. This was more than double the number of masons identified in Kensal Green, where only 16% of monuments were marked. Across the surveyed period the proportion of marked stones increased in Glasgow, from around 45% in 1833-1835, to more than 75% in 1866-1870, with a dip to a little below 40% in the early 1850s. Even during the low point of the 1850s, this was consistently higher than the rate in Kensal Green, which never reached higher than a peak of approximately 25% of monuments being signed in the 1860s (Figure 7.44). Comparison with the three other samples is problematic because of the small numbers involved, for example in Key Hill, 50% of pre-1846 monuments surveyed were signed, but this represents a sample of only four monuments. Overall, however, the rates of monument-marking at these sites were lower than in the Necropolis (Figure 7.43).

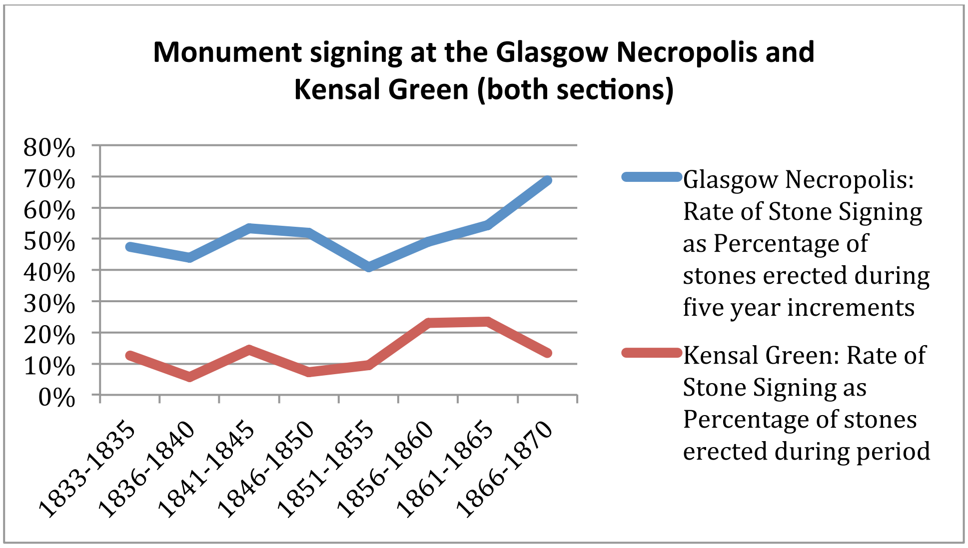


Figure 7.44 Comparison of the proportions of surveyed monuments signed by masons at the Glasgow Necropolis and Kensal Green (both sections).

The number of active masons signing their work in any given five-year period was also generally higher in the Glasgow Necropolis than elsewhere. Overall, 51 firms were identified from their marks, more than double the number found in Kensal Green, and more than six times the number in Birmingham Key Hill (Figure 7.43). In the first years of the Necropolis' operation only a handful of masons were marking their work, but by 1870 18 were active in the cemetery. This increase was matched, and later slightly outpaced, by the number of monument producers listed in the Glasgow Post Office directory (Figure 7.47). These producers were not in fact listed in the Directories as masons, but as either 'Sculptors' or 'Marble Cutters'; the names identified in the cemetery do not appear, in any instance, in the lists of 'Masons and Builders' that the Directories provide. This suggests that, at least during the first part of the surveyed period, 'mason' was more synonymous with 'builder' than 'stonemason'.

The distinctions between these categories recognises the demands for sculptural skill that monumental work put on masons, but obscure the frequency with which sculptors like William Mossman dealt in architectural detailing and worked with builders. The Mossman Job-book describes the execution of sculpted lions heads for a Mr Broom (listed under 'masons and builders') who was working on the construction of St Pauls Church on John Street (now demolished) (MJB 22/02/1836), as well as the production of decorative keystones for the Phoenix Foundry (MJB 09/01/1835). The work of 'masons and builders' and 'sculptors' was therefore often allied, the distinction between their outputs often blurred by the kind of subcontracting undertaken between Mossman and Broom.

Figure 7.45 Monument 3053 (Glasgow Necropolis), erected for John Craig, died 1837, produced and marked by Neilson and Galbraith. (Photograph: author, 2013.)

Figure 7.46 Monument 3072 (Glasgow Necropolis) erected for John Turner, died 1834, produced and marked by D. Hamilton and Son, who undertook the work on the Bridge of Sighs that provides access to the site, and the Egyptian Vaults. (Photograph: author, 2013.)

The distinction between 'sculptors' and 'marble cutters' is also not clear-cut. The monuments identified in the cemetery as having been erected by masons listed as marble-cutters, such as Neilson & Galbraith, and David Hamilton, were in fact mostly executed in the soft local sandstone (Figure 7.46 and Figure 7.47). Clearly, designation as a marble-cutter did not mean that a mason worked exclusively with that material. Nor did it indicate that clients could expect a lower quality of sculptural detailing than might be provided by a 'sculptor'. For example, the carving on Hamilton monuments, such as the swag on the Turner memorial (Figure 7.46), show that the firm was more than capable of intricate detailing. The range of work undertaken by firms in these two groups was also comparable and Mossman did not have a monopoly on architectural work; David Hamilton & Sons undertook large-scale architectural projects as well as public monuments like the Nelson Monument (1805) on Glasgow Green.

The boundary between marble-cutters and sculptors was also porous. As partnerships changed masons might realign their positions within the trade; William Galbraith dissociated himself from William Neilson in the late 1830s (with whom he had been considered a marble-cutter) appearing on the list of sculptors as an independent operator in the 1840s. It is therefore unclear how potential customers using Post Office directories before the 1870s (when monumental masons started being listed under a dedicated heading [Macfarland 2004:39]) assessed the distinction between companies listed under these different heading. It is likely, however, that most customers did not use directories to find companies, but found them instead through the proximity of their premises to cemeteries, their signing of monuments, or word of mouth.

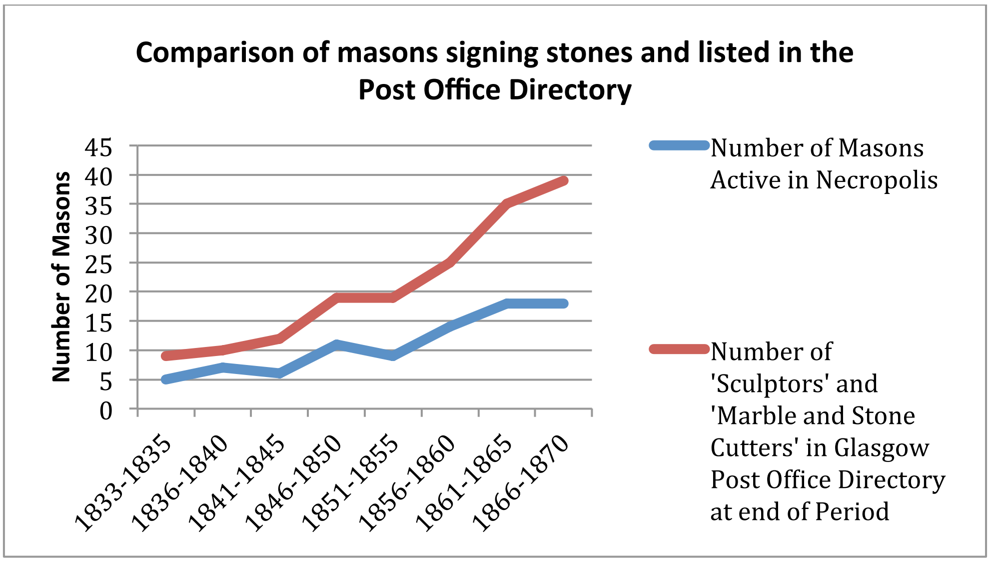


Figure 7.47 Graph comparing the number of masons identified as signing monuments in the Glasgow Necropolis sample, and the number of 'sculptors' and 'marble and stone cutters' (just called 'marble cutters' in the earlier part of the period).

The Directory listings are not, then, a reliable indication of the range of works undertaken by masons' firms, but they do offer an idea of how many firms were working in the general field of stonemasonry at any given time. Across the surveyed period this increased from nine in the 1835-6 Post Office directory, to 39 in the 1870-1 edition. In the same period the number of masons identifiable as active in the Necropolis (on the basis of signed monument erection) increased from five to 18, meaning that by the end of the period a slightly smaller proportion of the city's masons were signing work in the cemetery (Figure 7.47).

This could be a consequence of changes in the market, namely, increasing specialisation amongst sculptors and marble-cutters, meaning that a smaller proportion of companies undertook memorial production. It is very difficult, however, to assess the extent to which such specialisation occurred without access to the business records of more firms, as the information offered in Post Office directories seldom includes details about the kinds of work companies undertook.

Another possibility is that after the Southern Necropolis and Sighthill Cemetery opened in 1840, a larger proportion of the city's masons never erected stones in the Necropolis, working exclusively in one of the other sites. This may account for some portion of the increasing disparity, but even firms listed as located at Sighthill or the Southern Necropolis, and therefore presumably primarily occupied with work at those sites, are known to have been responsible for monuments in the Necropolis. An example of this is the mason Robert Bowman who is listed in the 1856 Directory as being based at Sighthill Cemetery but who erected and signed the Jarvis memorial (monument 3210) in the Necropolis, which was probably erected in 1857 (Figure 7.48).

Figure 7.48 Monument 3210, erected for the Reverend Daniel Jarvis, died in November 1856.

A third possibility is that the proportion of masons signing their monuments reduced over time and that the apparent disparity between the number of masons in the city and the number working in the Necropolis is an illusion created by changing signing practices. Without records either from masons documenting the monuments that they erected in the Necropolis, or from the Necropolis recording which masons worked on monuments there, this is impossible to assess accurately, but there is clear evidence that at least one mason responsible for monuments included in the survey was not identified through stone-signing. The Mossman job-books record the sale, for £7, of three vases to a Mr Penman "for the top of three monuments which he has erected in the Necropolis" (MJB 19/08/1837).

No monuments signed by Penman were identified in the survey, however, meaning that either Penman did not sign them, or his signature was illegible. Mr D. Penman is listed as a marble-cutter in the 1837-8 Post Office directory, and as a sculptor in the 1851-2 edition, but the Mossman job-book provides no additional details regarding either the mason or his monuments: not their locations, nor the names of their owners, nor even whether the vases were draped or undraped. It is therefore impossible to identify them from amongst the six unsigned urn monuments erected in 1837 (all of which are in sufficiently good condition so that a mason's mark should be visible). Nor is it possible to identify them by comparing the urns with Mossman's known output, as although some do bear a resemblance to Mossman's work, these similarities are insufficient to definitively identify the urns as Mossman products. It is therefore distinctly likely that three unsigned Penman monuments are amongst the surveyed stones (although the possibility should not be discounted that Penman did in fact sign one or more of his monuments but that severe weathering has effectively erased the association).

Certainly, the fact that one set of mason's records covering a single four-year period has identified a mason whose work should have been identifiable if he had consistently signed his monuments, suggests that a potentially significant number of active masons might be missed as a result of either not signing any of their monuments or only signing a small proportion. There is no evidence to suggest, however, that there was a decrease in the practice of monument-marking across the period. In fact, the rate of monument-marking increased towards the end of the surveyed period (Figure 7.49). Overall, it seems likely that the slightly increased disparity between the number of masons listed as working in the city and the number identified through their marks as operating in the Necropolis was the result of a combination of increasing specialisation and the broadening of burial location options, rather than because the practice of stone signing was becoming less common.

Monument-marking

The question of monument-signing is, however, interesting on a broader scale for what it suggests about the operation of the masonry trade, and this has not been extensively considered, save in the work of Susan Buckham (1999; 2000). Buckham's work at York cemetery included survey data from a local historian concerning monument-signing throughout the site (2000:233) as well as data collected as part of her research project, which focused on a sample of monuments from within the cemetery, which enabled her to make several findings relating to the practice of monument-signing between 1837 and 1901. She found that the overall proportion of monuments being marked in the cemetery was consistent over time, varying between 9% and 20% (ibid:241).

She further concluded that it most closely correlated with the number of masons operating in the cemetery rather than with the number of monuments being erected, and that "each mason signed only one or two stones in any two-year period regardless of the total number of signed stones per mason" (ibid:241-2).

The most striking difference between these findings and the Glasgow Necropolis sample is the rate of monument-marking, which is considerably higher in the Necropolis than in York. Furthermore, the rate increased across the period from an average of 47% of surveyed stones being marked per year during the first five years of operation, to an average of 69% in the five years up to 1870. Buckham (ibid:241) notes that the rate of monument-marking did not vary between monument types or levels of elaboration at the York cemetery, suggesting that the composition of the Glasgow sample in terms of the types and sizes of monuments is unlikely to account for this disparity.

The rate of monument-marking in York is much more in line with those of Kensal Green, Southampton, Bath Abbey and Key Hill, suggesting that Glasgow is an outlier not because of the composition of the sample but because monument-marking practices there were distinct from those found elsewhere. This raises the question as to whether this is a regional phenomenon discernible in other Glaswegian or Scottish cemeteries, or whether it is specific to the Necropolis itself. Without the necessary comparative data it is not possible to definitively respond to this question, but two observations can be made which suggest it is more likely a regional phenomenon than a site- or city-specific one. Firstly, if the high rate of monument-marking were confined to the Necropolis and not to other cemeteries within Glasgow, the most obvious reason would be that masons' practices were different in this setting because of the elaboration of the site and its monuments; the fame of its occupants; and its status as an attraction both within and beyond the city. The same could be said, however, of Kensal Green, which was the first cemetery of its kind in London and was quickly replete with notable internees and their elaborate monuments, but where monument-marking never exceeded even the lowest ebb of that found in the Necropolis.

Secondly, if the high rate of monument-marking was a feature of *Glaswegian* cemeteries rather than Scottish sites more generally, one of the most obvious causes to examine would be the possibility of an oversaturated local market in which producers were marking more of their stock in an effort to increase the visibility of their company. The impression of an over-full market is not, however, borne out by a consideration of the professional listings provided by the 1841 Post Office directories of London and Glasgow. The London directory listed more than 50 sculptors while the Glasgow equivalent listed only four. Even considering that the population of London was, at the time, approximately six times greater than that of Glasgow, these figures do not indicate that the smaller city was saturated with specialist stonemasons. Nor did Glasgow masons appear to be competing, on a large scale, with masons from other areas. Only a minority of the marked monuments were produced by non-Glasgow masons: four from Aberdeen, two from Edinburgh, and two from elsewhere.

Without the necessary comparative data, it is not possible to definitively respond to the question of the geographical area in which high rates of monument-marking might be identified, but there is some evidence to suggest that Scottish masons were more active monument-markers than their English counterparts. Namely, that the only two masons' marks identified in more than one cemetery in the sample were both Scottish firms: Bower & Florence, and Alexander MacDonald (later called MacDonald and Leslie), both of which were Aberdeen firms specialising in granite work. In fact, MacDonald's signature is the single most common mark in Kensal Green, where 26 monuments are attributed to the company, more than double the number signed by the next most prolific mason. The implication is that the rates identified in the Necropolis may be representative of a wider pattern in Scottish masons' practices, but further investigation of this must await the necessary data from other Scottish cemeteries.

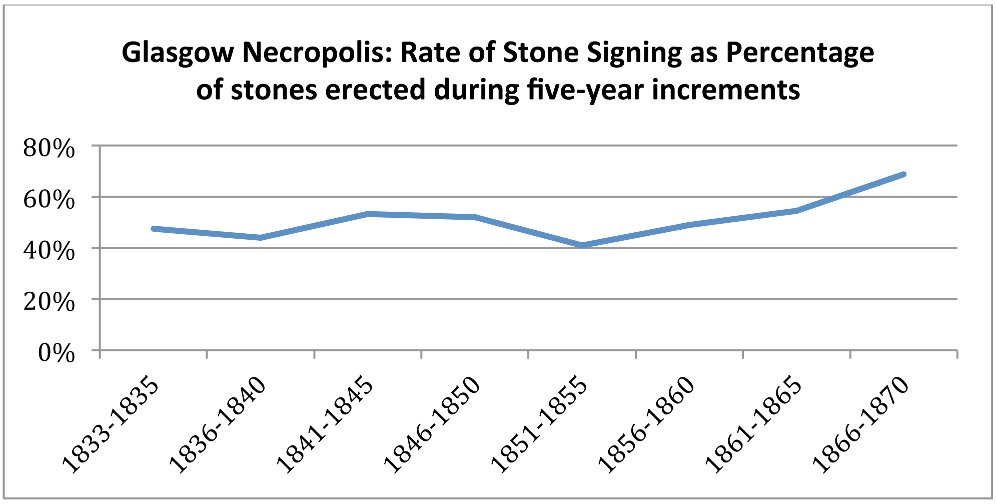


Figure 7.49 Graph showing the rate of stone signing as a percentage of stones erected during five year increments across the survey period at the Glasgow Necropolis.

The other findings from York are more consistent with the Glasgow data. The correlation between the number of marked stones and the number of masons active in the cemetery is strong in the Glasgow sample, as it is in York, meaning that the number of stones signed by each mason in any given year is consistent, usually no more than three (Figure 7.50). Two exceptions from this are the sprees of monument-marking that Peter Lawrence (eight signed monuments) and Mossman (six signed monuments) which went on in 1838 and 1870 respectively (shown on the graph as an increased gap between red and purple lines; see Figure 7.50).

Lawrence and Mossman were two of the most prolific masons operating in the cemetery (as judged by their signed output); there are 24 monuments associated with Peter Lawrence, and 43 with the Mossman firm (in its various iterations). Along with Alexander MacDonald, the Aberdeen based granite mason who also signed numerous Kensal Green monuments, these masons were responsible for the erection of 90 of the 214 marked stones, or over 40%. These masons were hardly representative of the majority of those operating in the Necropolis as 27 of the 51 masons identified by their marks were associated with just one single signed monument each.

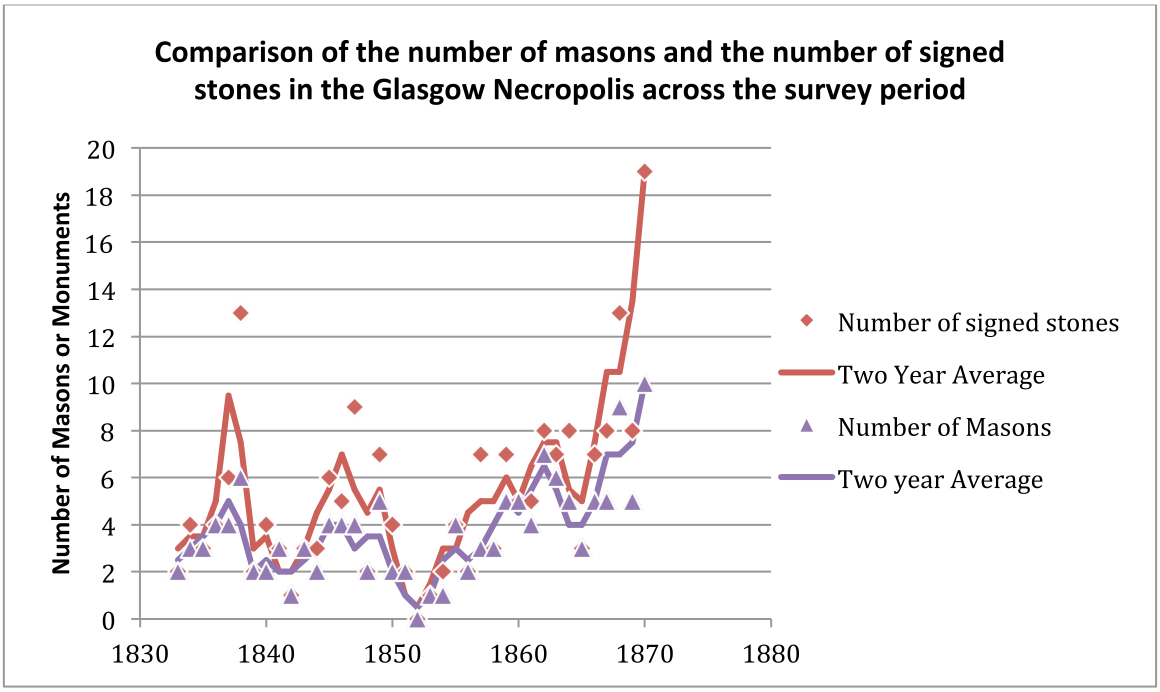


Figure 7.50 Comparison of the number of marked monuments being erected in the Necropolis and the number of masons responsible for these. A two-year average is calculated for each figure for each period, so that the solid lines do not rise and fall as abruptly. Note the generally close correlation between the lines.

It is difficult to evaluate the significance of these figures without data indicating what proportion of a mason's total output they represented. Without the kind of documentary material available in the York case study (where the cemetery's cash books provide information about masons erecting monuments in the cemetery, although the record is not complete), it is not possible to discern, for example, how the practice might vary between companies or within one organisation over time, and therefore what its parameters and purposes might have been. For example, was the spike in the number of signed monuments by Peter Lawrence in 1838 the consequence of an increase in his production or because he was marking a larger proportion of stones? Were masons like Thomas Gracie, who is associated with only one signed stone in the sample (monument 3132), erecting significantly fewer monuments than the likes of Lawrence, or were they simply marking fewer of them?

The only source of information offering any kind of insight into these questions, as they relate to the Glasgow Necropolis, is the Mossman Job-book which, as noted earlier, strongly suggests that the mason Penman was leaving a significant proportion of his stones unsigned. It also raises the possibility that the Mossman firm was also not marking all of its output. The job-book describes the erection of four monuments in the Necropolis between 1835 and 1839 which should have fallen into the survey categories: two urns on pillars (monuments 3461 and 3082; see Figure 7.53 and Figure 7.51 respectively), one obelisk (monument 3245; Figure 7.54), and a sarcophagus monument which was originally accompanied by a pair of urns. This latter monument was not included in the survey because the urns are no longer *in situ* and it was therefore not identified as being relevant to the research until later, when its description in the Job-book was found, by which time the survey had been completed (it is the Arrol monument shown in Figure 7.82).

Of the other three surveyed monuments mentioned in the Mossman job-book, two were clearly signed in the bottom right-hand corner of their bases (monuments 3082; Figure 7.52 and 3461, Figure 7.53). It is unclear whether the third monument (number 3245; Figure 7.54) was signed; the job-book details the sale of an obelisk to a Mr Jack in February 1836, to "be 14 feet high in the best style of workmanship and the best stone from Garscubes Quarry except the … [*illegible word*] which is to be in 4 stones from Kilsyth quarry for the sum of twenty eight pounds sterling &c &c &c" (MJB 26/02/1836). Although there is no indication as to where in the Necropolis this was to be erected, it seems highly likely that it is monument 3245, which is inscribed to the effect that a William Jack erected it in 1836. Monument 3245 is not, however, 15 feet tall: it is only ten and a half feet tall. The reason for this appears to be that the central pedestal section of the monument, formed of the four Kilsyth stones, has at some point been deconstructed, presumably because it was becoming unstable (the hollow construction of some pedestal monuments was vulnerable to this kind of degradation). The four stones remain, and their inscriptions are unobscured and legible, but there is no sign of Mossman's mark. If it were placed in a position analogous to that used on the Watson and Dick monuments (3082 and 3461), on the lower right corner of the second base stone, it should be visible behind the leaning text stone, but it is not. The position of the mark was not always consistent, however, and this, combined with the collapse of the central portion of the monument, and the burial of the lower corner of the primary (west) face of the stone, makes it difficult to be confident that the mark is not concealed rather than non-existent.

Figure 7.51 Monument 3082 (Glasgow Necropolis), commissioned by Mr Watson in 1836. (Photograph: author, 2013.)

Figure 7.52 Detail from monument 3082 (Glasgow Necropolis) showing the mason's signature on the lower right corner of the monument's base. Mr Watson commissioned William Mossman to make the monument in 2836. (Photograph: author, 2013.)

Figure 7.53 Monument 3461 (Glasgow Necropolis), dedicated to William Dick, who died 1837, and produced by William Mossman. (Photograph: author, 2013.)

Figure 7.54 Monument 3245 (Glasgow Necropolis), dedicated to the Jack family and produced by William Mossman in 1837. (Photograph: author, 2013.)

Overall, the Mossman job-book, when combined with the survey data, suggests that, during the first years of the cemetery's operation, most but probably not all of, Mossman stones were marked while, in other firms such as Penman's, signing is unlikely to have been undertaken to the same extent if at all. How this might have changed over time cannot be examined without further evidence, but the apparent patchiness of the practice in the 1830s is consistent with Buckham's findings in York (1999; 2000). She (2000:241) argues that the inconsistency of monument signing discourages an interpretation of it as a straightforward advertising technique: "if masons had wanted to simply advertise their work then it would have been far more effective to sign all of their output. Instead with only specific stones signed, masons would have had to purposely direct a potential customer to their signed work in the cemetery. In this way masons could use the cemetery as a show room for their new designs".

This interpretation of monument-marking as a way for masons to convert the cemetery into a showroom; to indicate their continuing operation within the site; and to demonstrate the availability of different monument types, is somewhat encouraged by the range of monuments signed by each mason. Exact duplications within the body of a mason's signed work was unusual. Of the 24 masons associated with two or more signed stones, only seven marked repeated designs and, in all but two instances, these designs were repeated only twice. This means that, of the 183 monuments signed by these masons, only 19 were duplicates. A significant caveat to this is that the majority of the monuments included in this survey were bespoke rather than template or pre-prepared forms (the purchasing process is discussed below), and although it was rare for two monuments from one mason to be exactly the same, it was common for two or more stones to be broadly similar. Nineteen of the 24 masons who signed two or more monuments marked more than one monument of the same type and material, e.g. multiple sandstone draped urns or multiple granite undraped urns.

Figure 7.55 Monument 3382 (Glasgow Necropolis), produced by MacDonald for the Darling family, probably in 1868. (Photograph: author, 2013.)

Figure 7.56 Monument 3167 (Glasgow Necropolis), produced by Macdonald for Walter MacLellan, in 1858. Note how similar the design is to monument 3382. (Photograph: author, 2013.)

Figure 7.57 Monument 3319 (Glasgow Necropolis), produced by Mossman for William Robertson in 1855. Note how similar the design is to that of monument 3461 (**Figure 7.53**). (Photograph: author, 2013.)

Such similarities were often much closer than this, even amongst elaborately finished and complicated designs, like the Darling and MacLellan obelisks signed by MacDonald (monuments 3382 and 3167, compare Figure 7.55 and Figure 7.56), and the Dick and Oswald draped urns on fluted columns by Mossman (monuments 3461 and 3319, compare Figure 7.53 and Figure 7.57). If monuments were signed so as to operate as a showcase of a mason's work, then, they were not simply intended to indicate the broad types and materials with which the yard dealt, but the wide variety of detailing (bases, inscription borders, lintels, urn shapes, obelisk proportions) through which monuments could be rendered nearly unique. Furthermore, marked monuments were not significantly larger than unmarked ones, endorsing the suggestion that monument-marking was not straightforwardly associated with raising the visibility of a mason's work (advertising) but with facilitating the identification of their monuments by specifically interested and directed individuals, who were perhaps already in contact with the mason. Bearing these subtleties in mind, Buckham's (2000) interpretation of monument signing as essentially linked to masons' efforts to use the cemetery as a display space for their wares remains the most cogent available.

A significant problem with interpreting signed monuments as a showcase for masons' work is, however, that without further documentary evidence we cannot assess the totality of their unsigned output. A mason like McLean, for example, signed five sandstone draped urns, and one probable urn base, but may well have erected other forms or used other materials and simply not signed them. There is no way of assessing the extent to which signed monuments represented the overall composition of a mason's output, and whether certain monument forms within a mason's portfolio were more frequently marked than others.

Bearing in mind this caveat, it is worth considering the composition of different masons' signed work as a way of assessing the extent to which the initial selection of a mason may have restricted the choices available to a purchaser in terms of materials and forms. The two most common materials used in the sample were sandstone and granite, with sandstone representing just under 60% of the sample, and granite just under 40%. Although there are large-scale sculptural works in marble in the Necropolis (Charles Tenant's memorial being the most prominent), among the monument types under consideration here, it was more often used for carved insets, for example the profile of Jacobus Brown by the sculptor James Fillans, which is set into Brown's 1846 memorial (3219).

The composition of masons' signed outputs at the Necropolis reflects this fairly even split. Of the 24 firms associated with more than one signed monument there was an even split between those producing only granite monuments, those producing only sandstone, and those producing both. These 24 masons were associated with 184 stones, split fairly evenly between materials production groups, 75 having been produced by masons working in both materials (see Figure 7.58). This means that, in the majority of cases, the decision as to which mason to use entailed deciding which type of stone to use.

Materials used	Number of masons' firms	Number of monuments signed by these firms
Just Sandstone	8	60
Just Granite	8	49
Both	8	75

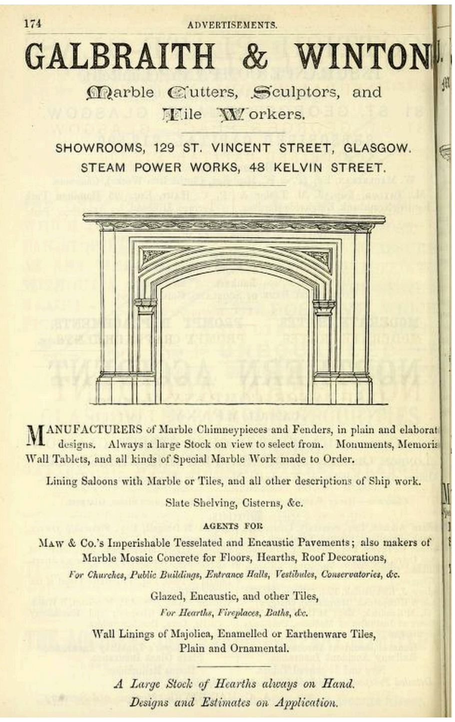
Figure 7.58 Table showing the materials used by monumental masons' firms that signed two or more monuments in the surveyed sample.

This was not the case with regards to the selection of monument forms: 18 of the 24 masons produced more than one form, and 142 of the 184 signed monuments came from a mason associated with more than one form (see Figure 7.59). The kind of subcontracting described in Mossman's job-book, through which draped urns or 'vases' were supplied to D. Penman and Peter Lawrence, can only have facilitated this flexibility. Even masons with little training in fine carving could, through subcontracting, provide monuments with elements requiring this type of work. It also means that masons' marks often bore a complicated relationship with a stone's provenance. Still, even with subcontracting, the vast majority of the identified masons were associated with only two of the three major monuments groups in the survey (obelisks, urns, and Gothic cross monuments). The only firm associated with all three was Mossman, and because their yard was so prolific, these stones represent a significant minority of the sample of marked monuments.

Forms produced	Number of Masons	Number of monuments signed by these firms
Urns and obelisks	13	87
Just urns	6	42
Urns and crosses	2	8
Obelisks and crosses	2	4
All three	1	43
Just obelisks	0	0
Just crosses	0	0

Figure 7.59 Table showing the forms produced by monumental masons' firms that signed two or more monuments in the surveyed sample.

Choosing a mason was therefore less likely to involve predetermining monument type than material. This could have been a consequence of the fact that working in a particular type of stone involved establishing trade relationships with quarries and their agents, and necessitated acquiring the equipment to effectively work the stone (granite cutting was becoming a mechanised industry during the 1830s and 1840s). Supplying multiple monument forms, on the other hand, entailed little additional investment of time or capital, and was facilitated by the practice of subcontracting. Studying Mossman's job-book it becomes clear that subcontracting extended beyond the sale of decorative elements and made it possible for masons lacking in some of the central skills of monumental masonry to undertake commemorative work. One of the few elements shared by the vast majority of monuments is their inscriptions, but Mossman's job-book shows that not all masons working in the cemetery could supply this service. For example, the firm regularly undertook inscription work for the masons David and James Hamilton (a father and son) at a wholesale price. The Hamiltons were experienced and prestigious masons, but were known more for their architectural work than their private memorials. Their work in the cemetery was accomplished, but inscription work was clearly not a forte and outsourcing was a solution to this. The Hamiltons were not the only masons working in the cemetery who also undertook work in other contexts; the Mossman job-book describes the execution of decorative keystones and death masks as well as memorials. This tendency towards generalism did not die out across the surveyed period, as the Galbraith & Winton advertisement in the 1865/6 Post Office directory indicates. The text reads, in part: "MANUFACTURERS of Marble Chimneypieces and Fenders, in plain and elaborate designs. Always a large Stock on view to select from. Monuments, Memorials, Wall Tablets, and all kinds of Special Marble Work made to Order" (see Figure 7.60). There are no signed examples of Galbraith & Winton monuments in the sample, although there is one monument erected by Galbraith in the 1830s when he was in business with a mason named Neilson. Choosing a monument did not, therefore, necessarily involve choosing a monumental specialist.



174 ADVERTISEMENTS.

GALBRAITH & WINTON

Marble Cutters, Sculptors, and
Tile Workers.

SHOWROOMS, 129 ST. VINCENT STREET, GLASGOW.
STEAM POWER WORKS, 48 KELVIN STREET.

MANUFACTURERS of Marble Chimneypieces and Fenders, in plain and elaborat designs. Always a large Stock on view to select from. Monuments, Memoria Wall Tablets, and all kinds of Special Marble Work made to Order.

Lining Saloons with Marble or Tiles, and all other descriptions of Ship work.

Slate Shelving, Cisterns, &c.

AGENTS FOR

Maw & Co.'s Imperishable Tesselated and Encaustic Pavements; also makers of
Marble Mosaic Concrete for Floors, Hearths, Roof Decorations,
For Churches, Public Buildings, Entrance Halls, Vestibules, Conservatories, &c.

Glazed, Encaustic, and other Tiles,
For Hearths, Fireplaces, Baths, &c.

Wall Linings of Majolica, Enamelled or Earthenware Tiles,
Plain and Ornamental.

A Large Stock of Hearths always on Hand.
Designs and Estimates on Application.

Figure 7.60 Advertisement for Galbraith and Winton from the 1883-4 Glasgow Post Office directory, reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland.

So, to summarise, monumental masons in Glasgow tended to mark their monuments more often than those in the other cemeteries in this study, but it is unclear whether this phenomenon is restricted to the Necropolis or Glasgow or Scotland, or some other unidentified area. What does seem clear is that the practice was connected to the display of masons' work, not as a straightforward means of advertisement, but rather as a kind of showroom. Most of the masons identified within the sample signed only one or two monuments, but given the restrictions of the study, it is not possible to know whether this was because these firms were less active in the Necropolis, or signed fewer monuments, or more often erected monuments of other types. Within the subset of monuments upon which this study is based, masons did not tend to restrict their output to a single form, and there is evidence that when a mason was unable to execute a specific type of design themself, subcontracting might be used, meaning that masons' marks did not consistently relate to the production of a monument but to the economic entity through which it was sold. Specialisation in terms of material was more common than in relation to form, and in most cases, choosing a mason involved choosing between granite and sandstone. Many masons did not restrict their work to commemorative monuments, some doing architectural masonry (like William Mossman and his sons), while others undertook large public or private construction projects (like David and James Hamilton), and still others sold domestic masonry products (like Galbraith and Winton).

Stonemasons and their clients

This brings us to the question of what, exactly, choosing a monument involved in terms of the interaction between the purchaser and the mason. What were the settings for these activities, how were alternatives presented to clients, what was the timescale on these processes, and what degree of control did monument purchasers have over the final product? If we are concerned with the interrelationship of monument selection with the cemetery landscape, is there any evidence that the cemetery was a reference point in the process of purchasing a monument?

Monument pricing

All of the monuments sampled in the Glasgow Necropolis represent considerable investments by their owners. The vast majority are pedestal monuments, their size and complexity considerably greater than basic headstone forms. Gauging the relative costliness of these monuments, both in relation to each other, and in comparison to other monument forms, is problematic because of the general lack of masons' records recording the prices of monuments, but there are some points of reference available, from Mossman's job-book and from masons in York.

Buckham (2000:271) states that the York Cemetery Company, which produced and sold its own monuments from the opening of the cemetery in 1837, "provided headstones costing between £1/18/- and £10 depending on the date of purchase". The exact designs of these monuments are not known, but the Cemetery Company's pattern book contained a wide variety of forms, from simple headstones to pedestal and altar monuments (ibid Vol2:106, 110), so these prices are likely to have covered a range of types. The other firm that Buckham (ibid:281) investigated in detail was that of William Plows, but only one price is available for his work: "an elaborate headstone that cost £14".

These figures offer some context for the prices noted in Mossman's job-book. Five monuments recorded in the survey are mentioned in the book; three obelisks and two urns on column bases, their prices ranging from £10 for the smallest and simplest, to £30 for the two urn monuments, one of which, the Watson monument, Mossman commented should have cost £10 more. These, then, are expensive monuments, the cheapest costing the same amount as the most costly supplied by the York Cemetery Company, the most expensive more than double the price of Plow's 'elaborate headstone'. They were not, however, atypical of the Glasgow sample. Their sizes, their elaboration, and the materials of which they are constructed are not exceptional, and they provide a good starting point from which to consider the typical cost of monuments in the sample.

Monument	Type	Size (m)	Material	Carved details (not inscription)	Price
Jack 1837 (3245) (Figure 7.54)	Obelisk	4.2 (now 3.2)	Freestone (Kenmuir)	None	£28
MacFie 1839 (3464) (Figure 7.62)	Obelisk	5	Sandstone/ freestone	Wreath, inverted torches	£23
Kennedy 1839 (3021) (Figure 7.63)	Obelisk	3.1	Freestone (Kenmuir)	None	£10
Dick 1837 (3461) (Figure 7.53)	Urn on column	5	Sandstone/ freestone	Crest, fluting, capital, draped urn	£30
Watson 1836 (3082) (Figure 7.51)	Urn on column	3.9	Sandstone/ freestone	Capital, encircling wreath, wreath on undraped urn	£30 (should have been £40)

Figure 7.61 Table showing the monuments identified in the Glasgow Necropolis survey that are also mentioned in the Mossman Job-book (MJB 1835-1839), indicating their dates, forms, sizes, materials, detailing and prices.

The Mossman obelisks in the above figure range in size from just over 3m to 5m, in comparison to the average obelisk in the sample, which is 4.25m. The two urn monuments are also either side of the sampled average for urns on column or obelisk bases (4.2m), although it is worth noting that this is almost a metre more than the average for urn monuments in the sample generally (3.3m).

All five monuments are freestone or sandstone, which are the most common materials in the sample. The prices of the five monuments are not, therefore, representative of their granite equivalents, which were significantly more expensive (Buckham 2000:254), although this disparity decreased across the period as granite-carving technology improved and became more widely available.

Figure 7.62 Monument 3464 (Glasgow Necropolis), commissioned from Mossman by Dugald MacFie in 1839, in memory of his wife Elizabeth MacEwen, by Mossman. (Photograph: author, 2013.)

Figure 7.63 Monument 3021 (Glasgow Necropolis), commissioned from Mossman by Neil Kennedy in 1837, in memory of his wife. (Photograph: author, 2013.)

With regards to elaboration, the obelisks offer greater variety than the urns. The simplest is that of Neil Kennedy, which does not even have a cornice on the base, while the most intricately worked is Dugald MacFie's memorial to his wife (monument 3464, Figure 7.62) which has a carved wreath and ribbons on the base, a pointed and corniced pediment, and four inverted torches on the corners of the plinth. Its construction is further complicated by the fact that the obelisk does not sit directly onto the pediment but rests upon four corner pieces. Interestingly, this stone was less expensive than the simpler and slightly smaller Jack obelisk (monument 3245, Figure 7.54), the explanation for which may reside in the short, but possibly important, time difference between the dates of their purchases, and the improved economies in work that the mason was able to make over this period. None of these three obelisks represent the highest level of elaboration, and there are both larger and more intricately worked examples in the sample, but they do cover the typical range of elaboration within the form. Their prices are therefore a good basis for judging the expense of many of the freestone obelisks in the sample that were erected during the 1830s.

This is not the case with the Mossman urns (Figure 7.61), which offer less variety in terms of elaboration. Both are very elaborate, with Corinthian capitals and complex detailing; the Watson monument has a long, encircling wreath on the column and a smaller second one on the urn (monument 3082, Figure 7.51), while the Dick column is fluted and decorated with a crest (monument 3461, Figure 7.53). They are not the most elaborate or largest urn memorials in the sample, but they are significantly more complex than many and, as a result of their columns, they are larger than the majority of urn monuments, which most commonly have smaller pedestal bases. Their high prices are therefore likely to represent the upper end of the typical cost of urn memorials.

We are thus presented with a price range of £10-£28 for obelisks, and up to £40 for urns, but there are three further obelisk and urn monuments mentioned in the job-book which were erected in the Necropolis, which do not appear in the survey, and which offer further insight (Figure 7.64). One of these is the now illegible Lumsden monument, a granite and sandstone obelisk which was placed on the illegible list but is identifiable in retrospect due to its being mentioned in Blair's 1857 guidebook and Ronnie Scott's PhD (2005, Figure 7.83). The second, the Arrol monument mentioned previously, has lost its two urns and was therefore not included in the survey as it appeared to be a sarcophagus monument (Figure 7.82). The third, ordered by Mr John Smith on 13 June 1839, cannot be identified but is quite likely to be one of the sandstone obelisks on the illegible list. Mossman (MJB 13/06/1839) describes it as "an obelisk of Griffnook stone for the Necropolis, to be 20 feet high, of five stones, 3 feet square at bottom, the price put up not to exceed £33".

Several observations can be made on the basis of these further monuments. Firstly, no carved details are mentioned in relation to the Smith obelisk, which is of the same material as the three already mentioned (Jack, MacFie, and Kennedy), so we may infer that the higher price is a result of its greater size. This suggests that, although carving work might raise the cost of a memorial, the overall size, and therefore the cost of materials, was a central factor in its pricing. The Arrol monument reaffirms this observation; we do not know exactly how large it is (Scott [2005:240] describes it as of "modest size"), but it cost significantly less than the urns mentioned above, despite extensive detailing, suggesting that this kind of work was not necessarily a key determinant in pricing. This can be extended further to point out that urn monuments, or monuments involving urns as secondary elements like the Arrol memorial, were not necessarily more expensive than obelisks of equivalent scale. The Kennedy obelisk, at £10, was only slightly less costly, but was considerably less detailed and probably smaller.

Another point that these monuments clarify is that the choice to use granite rather than sandstone had significant financial implications. We do not know the exact size of the Lumsden obelisk; it is described in Blair's (1857:270) guidebook as 'tall', and its height is estimated as between 7m and 8ms on the list of illegible monuments. It is unlikely that it stands more than 2m taller than the Smith obelisk. The price difference between these stones must therefore be attributed to their different materials. Mossman (MJB 25/03/1839) refers to the Lumsden obelisk as being of polished granite, but the base is of sandstone, not granite, and it is possible that this sandstone was introduced to keep costs down. Certainly, the price, which is nearly double that of the Smith obelisk, is likely the result of the different prices of sandstone and granite.

Monument	Type	Size (m)	Material	Additonal details (not inscription)	Price
Smith 1839	Obelisk	6.1	Sandstone (Giffnock quarry)	Unknown, probably little	Not more than £33
Lumsden 1839 (Figure 7.83)	Obelisk	Unknown; 'tall'	Granite and sandstone	Little	Estimate of £63-64
Arrol 1837 (Figure 7.82)	Urns and sarcophagus on pillared pedestal	Unknown	Sandstone (Humbie quarry)	Fluted Corinthian columns, draped sarcophagus, frieze	£13

Figure 7.64 Monuments and prices mentioned in the Mossman job-book (MJB 1835-1839) but not included in the surveyed material.

The impression created by these figures is that the urns and obelisks erected in the Necropolis during the 1830s were *expensive*. There are two other points of comparison which highlight this. Firstly, Mossman records the sale of a 'headstone' to Mr McKendrick in April 1835, to be erected in the Necropolis for £4-£5 (MJB 23/04/1835). The size, material, and exact form of this custom-made stone is not recorded, but the entry makes it clear that the price range of even bespoke monuments reached far lower than the stones mentioned above would suggest. Secondly, and from a different perspective, we can comment that, based on Nenadic's (1996:272) research, approximately 60% of the families erecting these monuments are likely to have had an annual income of £300 or more. The other 40% are likely to have had less than this. A stone costing £10-£65 was therefore a considerable outlaying of capital, especially when it is recalled that families might not necessarily have ready access to liquid capital (ibid:273). This may be the reason why, according to the entries in the job-book, a customer's balance was often not paid upfront, or all at once, but in a number of instalments (MJB 1835-1839). How these prices changed over the 30 years after the end of the 1830s is difficult to establish as the 1835-9 Mossman job-book is the only one that refers directly to monuments in the Necropolis, but it is likely that prices decreased as transporting and cutting stone became less expensive.

Commissioning Monuments

Given that these customers were paying considerable amounts of money for their monuments, it is unsurprising that the sample is comprised entirely of commissioned monuments rather than pre-prepared forms. Smaller headstone forms are known to have been kept by masons as a pre-prepared stock, to which small adaptations could be made after sale (Buckham 2000:272), but it is unlikely that many of the monuments in the survey were purchased in this way. Aside from the fact that those spending upwards of £10 would wish to dictate both the form and detail of their purchases, it would be a considerable financial risk and practical inconvenience for masons to maintain a stock of elaborate monuments on their premises. An indication that the memorials in the sample were not pre-produced is that even similar monuments produced by the same mason, which are likely to have been based on the same design, are usually slightly different in details like the cornice mouldings, urn shapes, or in their overall size and proportions, which could be determined in consultation with the client. Examples of such slight variations are apparent in the comparison of monument 3051 (Figure 7.65), erected by Susan Shaw in memory of husband James Scott and monument 3052 (Figure 7.66), erected in memory of Maurice Ogle. Produced by Peter Lawrence in 1837, both are draped urns raised on square blocks above pedestals with plain pediments. They differ, however, in that the Shaw/Scott monument has an extra cornice, Greek Key-detailing, a cord pattern around the urn, and some abbreviated egg and dart moulding, changing the overall effect of the monument.

Figure 7.65 Monument 3051 (Glasgow Necropolis), erected by Susan Shaw in memory of her husband James Scott in 1837, produced by Lawrence. (Photograph: author, 2013.)

Figure 7.66 Monument 3052 (Glasgow Necropolis), erected in memory of Maurice Ogle in 1837, produced by Lawrence. (Photograph: author, 2013.)

The only real exception to this subtle heterogeneity, the only monuments in the sample that appear to have possibly been a set of mass-produced templates, are five granite draped urn pedestal monuments produced by

Alexander MacDonald between 1854 and 1861 (see Figure 7.69 to Figure 7.76). The overall similarity is striking, especially with regard to the overall form and the execution of the urns. The urns are all the same shape, with well-defined handles, and all display the same contrast between a polished body and unpolished drapery. This textural contrast was a particular feature of MacDonald's work, demonstrating considerable skill with polishing and cutting techniques, explicitly featured in the firm's entry in the catalogue of the London Exhibition (1862). It is still likely that these monuments were made to order, for the reasons suggested above, but their conformity to a shared pattern suggests that their production was closer to that of template forms than bespoke designs, offering the client little lee-way in tailoring designs.

Draped urn monuments produced by Alexander MacDonald between 1854 and 1861.
(All photographs: author, 2013)

Figure 7.67 Monument 3339 (Glasgow Necropolis), erected by Ann Morris in memory of her husband John MacDowall, who died 1861.

Figure 7.68 Monument 3330 (Glasgow Necropolis), dedicated to Robert Courlay Balloch, who died in 1857, by his parents.

Figure 7.69 Monument 3321 (Glasgow Necropolis), dedicated to six children in the Aikman family, who all died in 1857 (see also **Figure 7.20**)..

Figure 7.70 Monument 3322 (Glasgow Necropolis), dedicated to Alice Aikman, who died 1856, by her father Thomas Aikman (who was the brother of Peter Aikman, the father of the children commemorated on the neighbouring monument, number 3321 (see **Figure 7.69**). It is not, therefore, coincidental that these two monuments are similar.

Figure 7.71 Monument 3315 (Glasgow Necropolis), dedicated to Alexander Allan, who died 1854, by his wife, Jean Crawford.

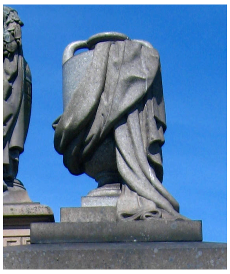


Figure 7.72
Monument 3339.

Figure 7.73
Monument 3330.

Figure 7.74
Monument 3321.

Figure 7.75
Monument 3322.

Figure 7.76
Monument 3315.

These ‘cookie-cutter’ monuments were very much the exception, but at Birmingham Key Hill another set of monuments indicates that, in other sites, pre-cut or mass-produced monument forms might be more common. Five decorated ringed crosses, differentiated by small variations in the detailing at the centre of the cross and around the ring, were erected in Key Hill, two of which were marked by the local mason, Gow, making it likely that this firm produced all five (see Figure 7.77 to Figure 7.81). Between them, these crosses represent a significant proportion of all Gothic crosses in the sample, meaning that, whatever means Gow was using to illustrate and sell this particular form, whether it was the monuments themselves or illustrations, the consequences of the success of this method were significant for the presence of Gothic memorials in the site. Gow also produced other cross-form monuments and urns, and was the single most prolific monument-marker in the sample. It is not known why the company marked so many more than any other Birmingham producer, but they clearly had considerable success with selling multiple copies of this single monument form, suggesting that unlike Mossman, a significant proportion of their work involved the duplication of designs

Monuments in the Birmingham Key Hill sample likely produced by the local stonemason, Gow.

Figure 7.77 Monument 6034 (Birmingham Key Hill), dedicated to Alice Margaret Glassey, who died 1869. Signed by Gow. (Photograph: author, 2013.)

Figure 7.78 Monument 6033 (Birmingham Key Hill), exact date of erection unknown, probably 1860s. Dedicated to William Henry Turner. Signed by Gow. (Photograph: author, 2013.)

Figure 7.79 Monument 6022 (Birmingham Key Hill), dedicated to Fanny Churley, who died in 1869. (Photograph: author, 2013.)

Figure 7.80 Monument 6031 (Birmingham Key Hill), dedicated to Margaret Patterson, who died in 1867. (Photograph: author, 2013.)

Figure 7.81 Monument 6042 (Birmingham Key Hill), dedicated to Hannah Maria Ingram, who died in 1863. (Photograph: author, 2013.)

The Mossman job-book suggests, in contrast, that in the Glasgow sample at least, monument purchasers were often able not only to choose between alternatives, but were able to adjust existing designs or even to supply their own. What is interesting about the references that Mossman makes to the process through which clients settled on designs is that it appears to be strongly varied in terms of the dynamic between client and mason. Broadly, these interactions can be divided into two groups: clients who used the mason's designs, and those who did not. Most of the former appear to have been physically given (either in person or via correspondence) one or more designs drawn out especially by the mason, between which they chose. Monuments purchased in this way include those belonging to Arrol, Dick, Jack, Watson, Blair, and Dunlop (Blair's monument is in St Mungo's burial ground, and the Dunlop monument is of unknown form, see Figure 7.61 and Figure 7.64 for the other four monuments).

Some of these designs were clearly bespoke and based on conversations between client and mason, while others may have been based on extant designs belonging to the mason, although often this distinction is unclear. For instance, Mossman produced a monument for a Mr Blair in 1835, to be erected in the High Church (St Mungo's) burial ground. Mossman (MJB 21/04/1835) notes that the memorial is to be; "of the best freestone and same pattern as No 2 of a sheet drawn out for him, Egyptian, with [two?] sphinx's [sic] at bottom and a phoenix on the [fringe?] – price to be fifteen pounds". Clearly a series of drawings had been created, and judging by the specificity of the description, complete with sphinxes and a phoenix, it seems likely that the designs had been tailored specifically to requests made by Mr Blair, and were not a selection of pre-existing designs.

This may not have been the case with the Jack obelisk. When Mossman (MJB 26/02/1836) wrote up an estimate for the Jack obelisk, he describes his client as "having fixed upon the design, an obelisk given him by me some weeks ago". It therefore seems likely that more than one design was given to Mr Jack, but, given the comparative commonness of obelisk monuments, the pattern may not have been an original composition. In other cases, it appears that only one, bespoke, design was given. Mossman (MJB 13/08/1836) describes the Watson memorial as "a fluted pillar with a new capital and a vase upon the top with a wreath of flowers around it, also a wreath of ornament round the column, as per drawing which I made out for him". He does not give the drawing a number as in the case of the Blair monument, suggesting it was the only design given, and it sounds as if the description was the basis for the drawing, possibly based on conversations with the client.

Another subset of clients who used designs belonging to the mason includes those who chose from among pre-existing designs, either using them directly or requesting alterations. One of these is Mr Dunlop, of Edinburgh, who Mossman (MJB 04/05/1838) records on 4th May 1838 requesting a sketch based on "the shape of No. 33 shown him". It seems highly unlikely that Mossman would draw out 33 original designs for a client, suggesting that he must have had a stock of more than 30 pre-existing designs to show to customers. Whether he sent a selection of these to Mr Dunlop, amongst them No.33, or whether Mr Dunlop visited the company's premises and was shown a pattern book or array of patterns, is unclear, but the subsequent consultation certainly took place via letters as Mossman (MJB 21/05/1838) notes on the 21st of May that Mr Dunlop had sent back the three sketches he had been sent, and would like to commission the second of these. Quite how the three designs differed from the original No.33 is not specified, but we can assume that the client had been unwilling to adopt the initial design without alterations. It is unclear where the Dunlop monument was to be erected, or what form it was, and it has not been identified in the sample.

In the four cases mentioned so far (Blair, Jack, Watson, and Dunlop), contact between mason and client was direct (although it is sometimes unclear whether it was in person or via letters) and involved the discussion of hand-drawn patterns, but these were not necessary components of the process of monument purchase. For example, on 23rd May 1839 Mossman (MJB 23/05/1839) recorded: "[O]rdered a few days ago a monument for Mr McFie or MacFie by Mr Milne for the Necropolis … … as per drawing given by me". Mr Milne was the superintendent of the Necropolis, and he appears to have been acting as an agent for the firm, requesting and receiving designs on behalf of clients, meaning that there was not necessarily any direct contact between monument purchaser and mason. There is no indication in the book as to how this relationship was organised financially, for example whether Mr Milne added a commission to the estimates provided by Mossman. Nor is it known how frequently Mr Milne did this kind of work, whether he maintained this kind of relationship with other masons, or just with Mossman, nor whether this practice continued with the subsequent Superintendent, after Milne stepped down in 1842.

In one further case, the possibility is raised that Mossman did not send or show any designs to the client, and that the Necropolis fulfilled its role as a showroom for the mason. On the 30th March 1838 Mr Dalziell Bothwell ordered a "headstone to the memory of the late Dr Dalziell to be of Huntier[?] stone, and the same pattern as Mr Arrol's" (MJB 30/03/1838), which had been erected in the Necropolis to an original design in July 1837. There are several indications in this note that the stone itself was an important reference point for the conversation between client and mason. Firstly, the pattern is referred to specifically in relation to its incarnation in the form of the Arrol monument, and appears not to have been incorporated into the canon of numbered designs used in consultation over the Dunlop monument, suggesting that it was not introduced to Mr Bothwell via its inclusion in this collection. Indeed, there is no reference here to any other designs, to drawings being 'made out' for the client, suggesting that consultation over drawn alternatives may not have been part of this particular purchasing process. This raises the alternative possibility that Bothwell did not require consultation but had arrived at a decision as to the form of monument he wished to purchase before he contacted Mossman, and that he had made this decision while visiting the Necropolis.

Even if this were not the case, and a paper consultation had taken place, the specific naming of the Arrol monument in the job-book makes it seem likely that Mr Bothwell would have known of the design's origins and prior manifestation, and would have been able to view the work in advance of the completion of his own stone. In either case, Mr Bothwell does not appear to have been concerned by the fact that a monument identical to his own was already *in situ* in the Necropolis (although, because the Bothwell monument has not been identified in this survey or elsewhere, it is not possible to know exactly how similar the final product was to the original monument). This suggests that although most of the monuments in the survey were at least subtly different, differentiation may not have been a priority for all monument purchasers. Nor was the Arrol/Bothwell set the only pair of monuments erected by Mossman;

the Robertson memorial that Mossman erected in 1855 (monument 3319) is very similar to the pillar and urn monument that the firm created for Mr Dick in 1837 (monument 3461, compare Figure 7.57 and Figure 7.53). There is no way to determine whether the older monument was explicitly identified by Mr Robertson as a model for his own stone, but it is certainly possible given that the Dick monument is on one of the main paths up to the top of the cemetery, and that the Robertson plot is at the top of the site.

Figure 7.82 The Arrol monument, erected by Mossman in 1837. The monument once had a pair of urns on either side of the miniature sarcophagus (see **Figure 7.64**). (Photograph courtesy of Scott, 2005.)

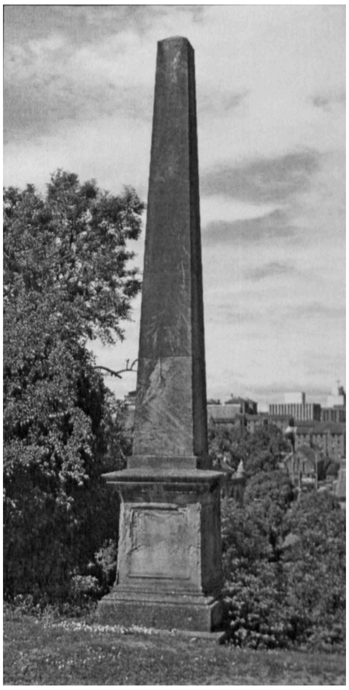


Figure 7.83 The Lumsden obelisk, erected by Mossman in 1839 (see **Figure 7.64**) (Photograph courtesy of Scott, 2005)

For those that *were* concerned with having a unique monument, one exactly conforming to their preferences, one option was to design the memorial oneself, or to commission an architect. These comprise the second group of purchasers: those who did not use the mason's designs. The Gibson (see below), Kennedy (monument 3021) and Lumsden (Figure 7.83) memorials all belonged to purchasers who sourced their own designs. The Gibson monument (form unknown) was erected in May 1836, to the client's "own design with some ammendments [sic]" (MJB 25/05/1836). Mr Kennedy was even more specific when he ordered his obelisk in 1839. Mossman (MJB 07/06/1839) notes that it was to be "as per his own design and measurement price £10 – to be in three stones, the sizes of which are: one stone 4"6 by 24in and 18in for base, one stone 4"0 by 36in and 18in for inscription, one stone 6"0 by 42in and 12in for obelisk". The Lumsden obelisk, on the other hand, was erected to the specifications of an Edinburgh architect named Rhind, (probably David Rhind, 1808-1883). In none of these three cases did Mossman display any reluctance to work to the specifications of other designers.

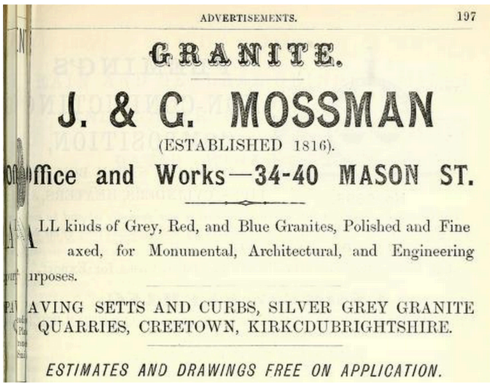
In all of the instances outlined above, the setting for the interaction between client and mason is unclear. Some contact certainly took place via correspondence, as the copying of the estimate letter for Mr Jack indicates, and the fact that Mr Dunlop had *sent back* three sketches. It seems unlikely, however, that the entirety of the purchasing process took place in this manner or that face-to-face discussion never took place. The Mossman firm in the 1830s, comprised William Mossman (1793-1851) and his three sons John (1817-1890), George (1823-1863), and William (1824-1884). A meeting with the Mossmans in person would likely have meant a meeting at either their West Nile Street or Cathedral Square premises. Both of these, however, were working yards, busy and potentially dangerous (Figure 7.84), and there is no indication that either was intended as a showroom or shop-front for the business. The job-book makes no reference to whether customers visited either site, and we are left to speculate as to how frequent such visits were, or whether William Mossman (or his sons) met clients elsewhere. In the case of the Bothwell/Dalziell monument, the possibility that the Necropolis was a reference point in consultation is raised, but there is no indication that client and mason actually visited the Necropolis together.

Figure 7.84 The Mossman Yard, c.1875, courtesy of the Glasgow Archives at the Mitchell Library. Note the large number of workers and huge statues. It is not known which facility this image was taken at.

Mossman was not the only firm to lack, ostensibly, a dedicated space for meeting with customers and displaying work. The first facility listed in the Glasgow Post Office directory as a 'showroom' for a sculpture or stone cutting firm was that of Galbraith & Winton, which was included in the 1865/6 edition (see Figure 7.60 for the version included in the 1883/4 edition of the directory). As a comparison, it is worth noting that the E.M. Lander showroom outside the gates of Kensal Green Cemetery was established in the 1830s. If there really were no equivalents to this facility in Glasgow until the middle of the 1860s, the importance of the cemetery as showroom would have been considerably higher than elsewhere, which perhaps goes some way to explaining the high monument-marking rate.

It is difficult to know, however, exactly what masons' facilities were like. There may not have been any explicitly identified showrooms in Glasgow before the middle of the 1860s, but it is possible that some yards had showroom-type spaces attached, as was the case with Garret and Haysom in Southampton (Figure 7.85). These types of facilities would have been of greater interest to firms selling pre-prepared template monuments, as they would have had stock to show, rather than firms like Mossman which predominantly worked on commissioned projects (at least during the 1830s) and would therefore have not had much completed work to show. They might also have been of more importance to firms like Galbraith & Winton, which sold a wide range of stone products that customers might wish to view and compare, than to firms with a close focus on memorials. It is also possible that some yards incorporated offices where business could be conducted (rather than showrooms specifically). This is hinted at in the advertisement placed by Mossman in the 1885/6 Post Office directory, which specifies “Office and Works – 34-40 Mason Street”, clarifying the sometimes dual role of masons’ premises and suggesting that, in some instances, these might be separated (Figure 7.86). Unfortunately, without evidence from within the surveyed period, it is not possible to ascertain whether this type of arrangement was typical, or exactly what it meant on the ground in terms of facilities for consultations.

Figure 7.85 Garret and Haysom’s East Street works and showroom in Southampton, sometime before 1899. The shop window to the left of the open-air yard also belongs to the firm, and a headstone can be seen through the window, waiting to be erected (courtesy of the Friends of Southampton Old Cemetery).



ADVERTISEMENTS. 197

GRANITE.

J. & G. MOSSMAN

(ESTABLISHED 1816).

ffice and Works—34-40 MASON ST.

ALL kinds of Grey, Red, and Blue Granites, Polished and Fine axed, for Monumental, Architectural, and Engineering rposes.

AVING SETTS AND CURBS, SILVER GREY GRANITE QUARRIES, CREETOWN, KIRKCUDBRIGHTSHIRE.

ESTIMATES AND DRAWINGS FREE ON APPLICATION.

Figure 7.86 Advertisement for Mossman from the 1885/6 edition of the Glasgow Post Office directory, courtesy of the National Library of Scotland.

One aspect of these sites that we can consider is their location. Mossman had two premises during the 1830s: a yard where Buchanan Street station now is, just south of the Port Dundas basin, where stone would arrive on the Forth and Clyde, and another, opened by two of William's sons, John and George, behind the Barony Church, near to the Necropolis. The former was convenient for stone imports while the latter may have been placed to facilitate the moving of completed monuments into the cemetery, to catch the business of those visiting the site, or both. Mossman was not the only firm to maintain premises near to a cemetery. Looking at the locations of sculptors and marble-cutters in the 1844/5 and 1865/6 Post Office directories, these businesses tend to cluster near or on the main routes to cemeteries, or in the city's central trading area (see Figure 7.87 and Figure 7.88). It seems likely that those located nearer to cemeteries were more focused on monument production than those located in the city centre. This is borne out by comparing the locations of those masons identified in the sample, and who are therefore known to have been involved in monumental masonry, with those who are listed in the Post Office directory but not identified in the sample; masons identified in the sample were more likely than other sculptors and stone-cutters to be located nearer to a cemetery than the central commercial area of the city. This was the case in both the 1840s and in the 1860s (Figure 7.89 and Figure 7.90). Indeed, there appears to be a geographical segregation between masons' firms working to a significant extent with memorials, and those engaged in more general trade.

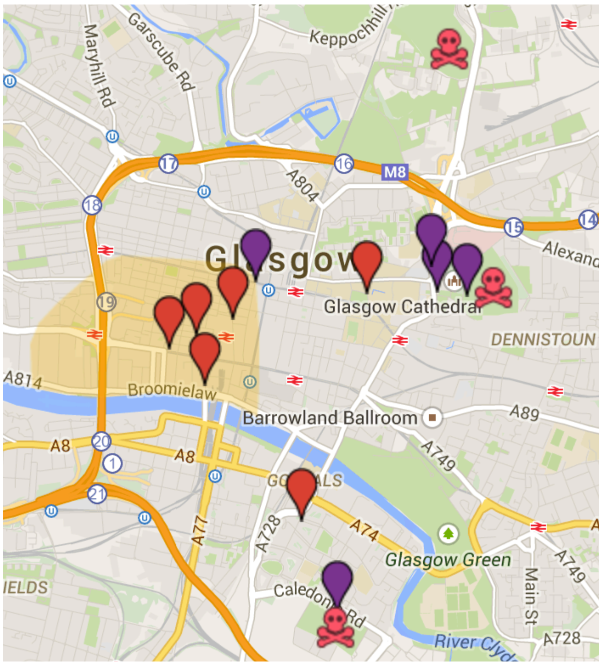


Figure 7.87 Masons identified in the 1844/5 Glasgow Post Office directory Purple markers are sculptors identified in the sample, red markers are those not identified in the sample. The three main cemeteries operating at the time are marked with skull and crossbones: the Southern Necropolis near the southern edge (opened 1840); the Necropolis itself near the centre; and Sighthill Cemetery near the north edge of the map (opened 1840). Not all addresses are exact, some listings lack street numbers, and some streets have disappeared. The yellow area is the central commercial district of the city in the late 19th century as defined by the National Library of Scotland (http://maps.nls.uk/townplans/background/glasgow_2.html).

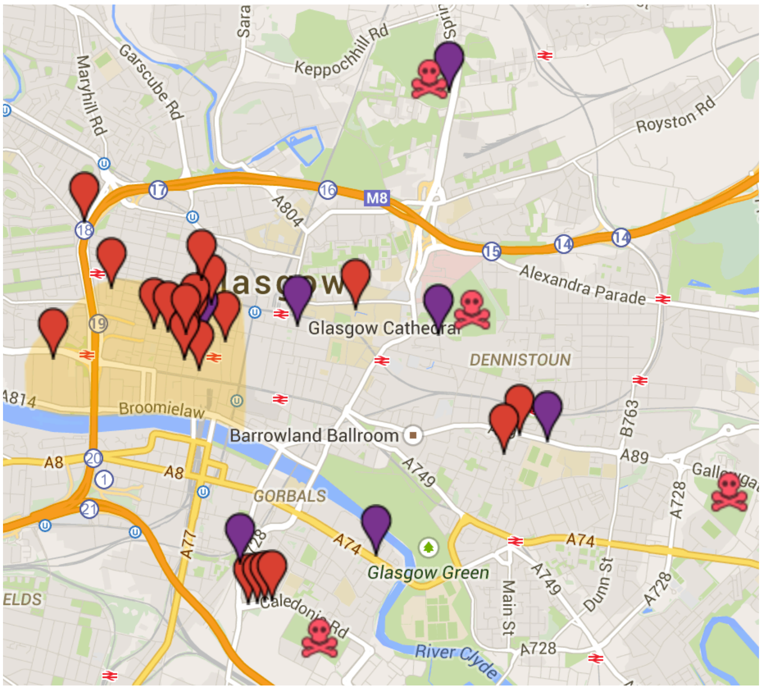


Figure 7.88 Masons identified in the 1865/6 edition of the Glasgow Post Office directory. Purple markers are sculptors identified in the sample, red markers are those not identified in the sample. The four main cemeteries operating at the time are marked with skull and crossbones: the Southern Necropolis near the southern edge (opened 1840); the Eastern Necropolis to the east (opened in 1847); the Necropolis itself near the centre; and Sighthill Cemetery near the north edge of the map (opened 1840). Not all addresses are exact, some listings lack street numbers, and some streets have disappeared. The yellow area is the central commercial district of the city in the late 19th century as defined by the National Library of Scotland (http://maps.nls.uk/townplans/background/glasgow_2.html).

This segregation does not indicate to what extent proximity to a cemetery was a question of convenience in monument delivery and to what extent it was intended to attract business, but the fact that masons like McGaw and McGlashan, who were located near to the Southern Necropolis, are known to have worked in the Necropolis, suggests that proximity to a particular cemetery was not the only means by which monumental masons attracted customers. These might have included customers' experiences visiting other cemeteries, word of mouth, agent-type relationships like that between Milne and Mossman, or now-lost advertisements. What the geographical distribution of known monumental masons does make clear is that if the monument commissioning process did involve visiting the mason's premises, this activity would tend to be focused around the cemeteries themselves, rather than in the commercial hub of the city. The distance of these firms from the city centre might also explain why a significant proportion of negotiations over the exact form, material and price of monument appear to have taken place via correspondence.

1844/5	Identified in sample	Not identified in sample
Nearer to a cemetery	4	2
Nearer to the central commercial area	1	4

Figure 7.89 Relative locations of masons' premises in the 1844/5 Glasgow Post Office Directory.

1865/6	Identified in sample	Not identified in sample
Nearer to a cemetery	5	7
Nearer to the central commercial area	2	14

Figure 7.90 Relative locations of masons' premises in the 1865/6 Glasgow Post Office Directory.

The exception to this pattern of distribution is the group of eight masons based outside of the centre of Glasgow. Throughout the period surveyed, a minority of masons from other cities, or the small settlements nearby like Possil or Cathcart (both of which have now been drawn in to the expanding city) erected and marked monuments in the Necropolis sample. In all instances, the location of the firm was included in the mason's signature, in contrast with the Glasgow-based masons who seldom marked the fact that they were based in the city (only six masons included 'Glasgow' in their signatures). Interestingly, the Glasgow masons did not include street addresses in their marks, unlike those in London who frequently listed the street name and number of their premises. It would seem likely that the smaller scale of Glasgow meant that masons were less concerned that their customers would not be able to locate them.

The extra-local masons can be divided into two equal groups: those based in Aberdeen and those based elsewhere (Figure 7.92). The four masons in the latter group were from Ayr, Cathcart, Paisley and Possil, and each firm signed only one stone in the sample. None of these locations were significant distances from Glasgow (Ayr was the furthest at approximately 50km southwest of the city), nor were they significant centres of production for stonework. These three facts (the small volume of these firms outputs in the Necropolis, the comparatively short distance to the city, and the lack of significant stone-working industries in these areas) make it likely that, as in Buckham's (2000:251) York sample, these masons were selected because of the ties of individual families to the areas in which they were based, rather than because they had agents selling their work in the city.

The Aberdeen masons, on the other hand, are likely to have been sought out by clients as a result of the city's reputation for granite-work. During the 19th century Aberdeen was synonymous with high-quality granite-work, and especially with polished granite, of which the firm of Alexander MacDonald (known as MacDonald & Leslie from 1839 and subsequently as MacDonald, Field & Co.) was the largest producer (Bremner 2013:415). The local superfluity of high-quality granite, the development of the compound axe and the adoption of steam power for abrasion-cutting in the 1830s placed the masons of Aberdeen, and especially MacDonald, far ahead of their competitors. As a consequence, Aberdeen-worked granite was exported not only to Glasgow but all over Scotland, England, and beyond. The work of two Aberdeen firms found in the Necropolis sample, MacDonald and Bower & Florence, has been identified in other cemeteries in this project; the former in Kensal Green and the latter in Birmingham.

The presence of Aberdeen masons' work in the Necropolis is not, therefore surprising, but the question of how clients dealt with these firms is unclear. It is possible that correspondence was a more important medium for these firms than for local ones, which might explain why the only mason in the sample to include a street address in their mark was the Aberdeen mason William Keith Junior. For the two Aberdeen companies which signed only one monument, and possibly also for Wright, who only signed three, running client relationships in this manner seems plausible, but MacDonald signed 23 monuments in the sample, suggesting a more consistent presence within the local market. The firm did not have its own premises in Glasgow until 1896, when it opened a shop at 180 West Regent Street, but it is possible that the company maintained relationships with agents within the city before this time, possibly other masons who did not work in granite themselves. Unfortunately, there is no reference to such an arrangement in the Post Office directories of the period, but close working relationships between masons are demonstrated in the Mossman job-books in the form of subcontracting, and agent type relationships could be conceived of as an extension of these.

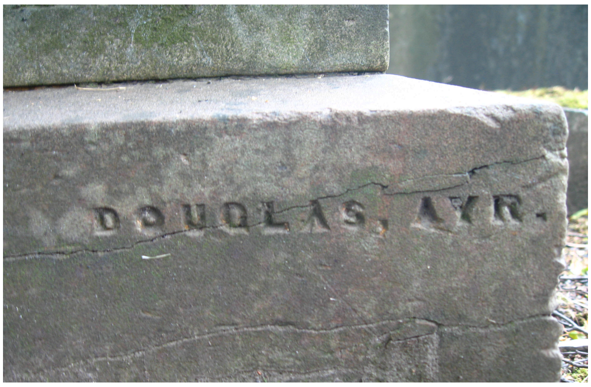


Figure 7.91 Detail of monument 3152, produced by Douglas of Ayr.

Mason	Number of signed monuments	Dates of signed monuments	Location of firm
Bower & Florence	1	1870	Aberdeen
Boyd	1	1833	Possil
Douglas	1	1863	Ayr
Keith, Wm Jr	1	1870	Aberdeen
MacDonald, Alexander	23	1841-1868	Aberdeen
Mellon	1	1846	Paisley
Scott	1	1867	Cathcart
Wright	3	1857-1862	Aberdeen

Figure 7.92 Table showing non-local masons who signed work in the Glasgow Necropolis Sample

One more feature relating to the commissioning of monuments that is worth considering from the point of view of establishing a framework for the typical chronology of death, monument commissioning and erection, is the amount of time that elapsed between these events. The Mossman jobbook, in combination with the survey evidence, provides unusual insight into the sequencing of these events and the extent to which it varied, both in terms of the time elapsed between a bereavement and the ordering of a monument, and the length of time taken to complete the order.

Of the five monuments in the sample that are mentioned in the Mossman job-book, two can be associated with dated deaths. Only about a month and a half passed between when Mr MacFie lost his wife Elizabeth and when he contacted the mason to commission a monument (monument 3464, Figure 7.62). Mr Alexander Dick waited slightly longer after the death of his father at the end of February 1837, not ordering a monument until the 12th of June that year (monument 3461, Figure 7.53) The three other monuments in the sample which are mentioned in the book cannot be associated with specifically dated deaths, because their inscriptions either did not include this information or had become illegible, but this information is available for the Arrol and Lumsden monuments (Figure 7.82 and Figure 7.83). Seven months passed between the death of Mr Arrol's daughter Elizabeth and his ordering of the stone in March 1837, whereas nearly two years elapsed between Mr Lauchlan Lumsden's death in February 1837 and when his brother James ordered the monument from Mossman in March 1839.

Looking only at these four cases, then, indicates that the gap between death and monument purchase might vary from only a few weeks, to some years. This reinforces the impression produced by the chronologically disrupted monuments discussed earlier that the relationship between bereavement and commemoration was not necessarily consistent, which undermines any attempt to model understandings of this material on the basis of it being the product of that period of time immediately succeeding the funeral, and its associated emotional landscape.

The period between ordering a monument and it being erected in the cemetery was more consistent, but still varied according to the complexity of the carving work required by the design. Information relating to the duration of this period was available for the five surveyed monuments that were mentioned in the Mossman job-book, plus the Arrol monument and two other monuments of unknown form erected in the Necropolis (belonging to Mr McKendrick and Dr David Gibson) that were also mentioned in the job-book. All of these monuments took between six weeks and nearly a year to complete. Considering the six monuments of known forms, the reason for this variation becomes clear. The three obelisks (3464, 3021, and 3245) took between six and eight weeks to complete. The more intricate Arrol monument, with its two urns, draped sarcophagus and fluted columns, took a little longer, at three and a half months. The two draped urn monuments belonging to Dick (monument 3461) and Watson (monument 3082) took even longer; the fluted column and Corinthian capital of the former taking six months, while the intricate and artistically demanding winding wreath and detailed capital of the latter (for which two extra masons were borrowed from a Mr Carmichael) took nearly a year (see Figure 7.92). The length of time that a monument took to be produced therefore appears to have depended on the complexity of the carving it involved, but this did not straightforwardly correlate with price, as this was also dependent on the cost of materials, and therefore on the type of stone used and the size of the monument. The correlation between duration of production and the complexity of carving was also not entirely consistent; the most complex obelisk, the MacFie stone, which has four inverted torches and a small wreath, took less time to produce than the Kennedy obelisk, which is entirely without ornament. This suggests that other factors may have affected the spell between commissioning and completion, including delays waiting for the delivery of stone, or whether a particular design had been executed before (the Kennedy monument was entirely bespoke, whereas the MacFie stone was chosen from existing designs).

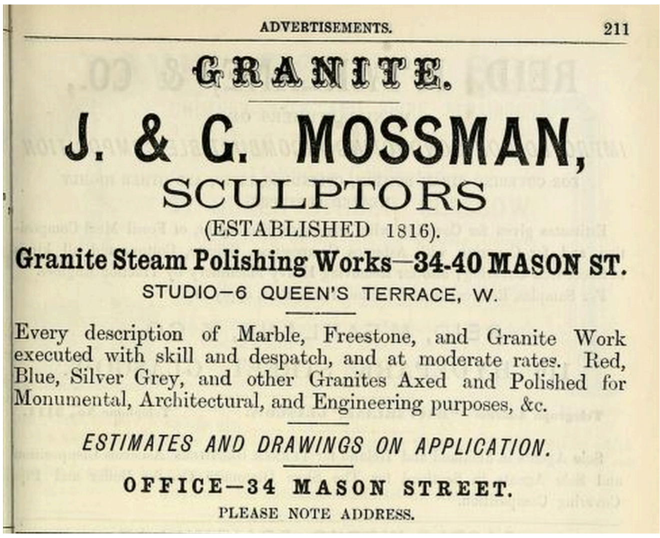
Monument	Time elapsed between death and monument commissioning	Time elapsed between monument commissioning and erection	Price
Dick (3461)	3-4 months	6 months	£30
Jack (3245)	Unknown	6-7 weeks	£28
Kennedy (3021)	Unknown	7-8 weeks	£10
MacFie (3464)	6-7 weeks	6-7 weeks	£23
Watson (3082)	Unknown	10-11 months	£30 (should have been £40)
Arrol	6-7 months	3-4 months	£13

Figure 7.93 Table showing the periods of time over which the monuments mentioned in the Mossman job-book were ordered and erected.

The entire duration of the period between death and monument erection is only known for three monuments: the Dick and MacFie obelisks, and the Arrol draped sarcophagus memorial. This period varied from three months for MacFie, to nine and a half months for Dick, and eleven months for Arrol. Considering the Lumsden obelisk, and the many disrupted-chronology monuments, however, it is clear that an upper time limit for the period between death and monument erection did not really exist.

In summary, the available evidence suggests that monument purchasing was a strongly varied set of practices during the period surveyed. Considering in detail only one company over a period of just four years, demonstrates the range of dynamics possible between client and mason. Some clients, like Mr Kennedy and Mr Gibson, had fully formed visions of exactly how they wanted their monuments to be before they even contacted a mason, while others, like Mr Jack and Mr Blair relied on the mason to articulate their desires. The extent to which the mason was in a position to influence the final decision of the client was sometimes negligible and sometimes great. It is therefore difficult to extract from the interactions described in the job-book any consistent model for this relationship, or for the degree to which it might influence or circumscribe the final choice of the client. Such a model becomes even more difficult to conceive when considered in relation to the numerous other masons' firms in the city. For example, there is evidence that in some cases the choice of a mason, in and of itself, restricted the options available to a monument purchaser, as not all yards would work all types of stone, or undertake all forms of memorial. It is also not known to what extent Mossman's flexibility regarding the drawing up of patterns and the use of other people's patterns was repeated in other organisations. Were all masons able or willing to create bespoke selections of drawings, or to undertake the execution of complex patterns designed by architects or private individuals? The fact that some firms had to turn to Mossman for urn-carving and letter-cutting suggests that not all yards would have been equal to such tasks.

It is also not possible to determine the extent to which the prices offered by Mossman were representative of those presented by other masons undertaking equivalent work. Within the Mossman firm, prices varied according to the size and elaboration of the monument, as well as in relation to the material used, and it can be assumed that other masons also offered range of prices, but whether these were the same as Mossman's cannot be assessed. An advertisement by Mossman in the 1889/90 Post Office directory (Figure 7.94) claimed that that work would be "executed with skill and despatch, and at moderate rates", but a similar advert from 1885/86 (Figure 7.86) does not include this phrase, suggesting that economy was not one of the first points on upon which the firm chose to sell itself when writing advertising copy. It certainly does not mean that competitive pricing was a central concern 50 years earlier, and the firm may have been an expensive option even in comparison to other yards selling bespoke monuments. In the absence of other evidence, however, it is reasonable to take the general price range suggested by the Mossman job-book as a guide for typical prices of the monuments included in the survey; namely, £10 - £30 for freestone monuments, rising to £60 for larger granite examples.



ADVERTISEMENTS. 211

GRANITE.

J. & G. MOSSMAN,

SCULPTORS

(ESTABLISHED 1816).

Granite Steam Polishing Works—34-40 MASON ST.

STUDIO—6 QUEEN'S TERRACE, W.

Every description of Marble, Freestone, and Granite Work executed with skill and despatch, and at moderate rates. Red, Blue, Silver Grey, and other Granites Axed and Polished for Monumental, Architectural, and Engineering purposes, &c.

ESTIMATES AND DRAWINGS ON APPLICATION.

OFFICE—34 MASON STREET.

PLEASE NOTE ADDRESS.

Figure 7.94 Advertisement for Mossman from the 1885/6 edition of the Glasgow Post Office Directory, courtesy of the National Library of Scotland.

The lack of direct evidence post-dating 1839, as well as a lack of detailed comparative material, is a significant restriction on our understanding of the relationship between monument purchaser and mason. The Garrett and Haysom material does not entirely remedy this problem, as the information it provides is not directly comparable with the Mossman book; none of the monuments mentioned in their records can be linked to surveyed material, and the descriptions given of monuments rarely extend beyond 'headstone' or 'tomb', making it impossible to estimate the relative pricing of the two companies. The firm's records do, however, offer a number of insights into how the industry worked in other towns. Firstly, much of the firm's business with burials was not concerned with memorial construction but the building of brick-lined vaults. A typical example is an entry from 16th February 1855: "Mr R Hills, Build Grave at the Cemetery. 225 Bricks 5 hoods mortar. 16.6 Smooth Paving Colour & Cartage. £1/12/3" (GHDB 16/02/1855). This suggests that, into the second half of the 19th century, the company was as much concerned with construction work as with sculpture. Nor were there other, more specialised companies in the town, according to the Post Office directories of the period.

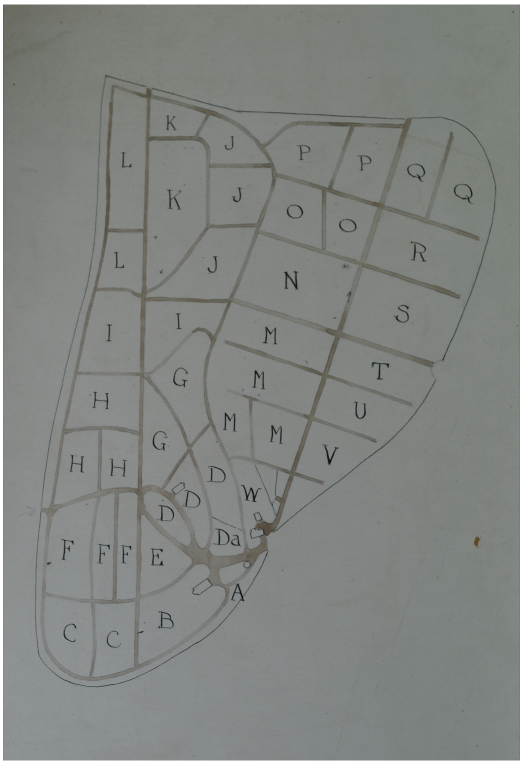


Figure 7.95 Map of Southampton Cemetery created by Garrett and Haysom some time in the 1880s, showing the monuments at the site that they had erected or were employed to work on. (GHM c1880s, courtesy of the Friends of Southampton Old Cemetery. Photograph: author, 2013.)

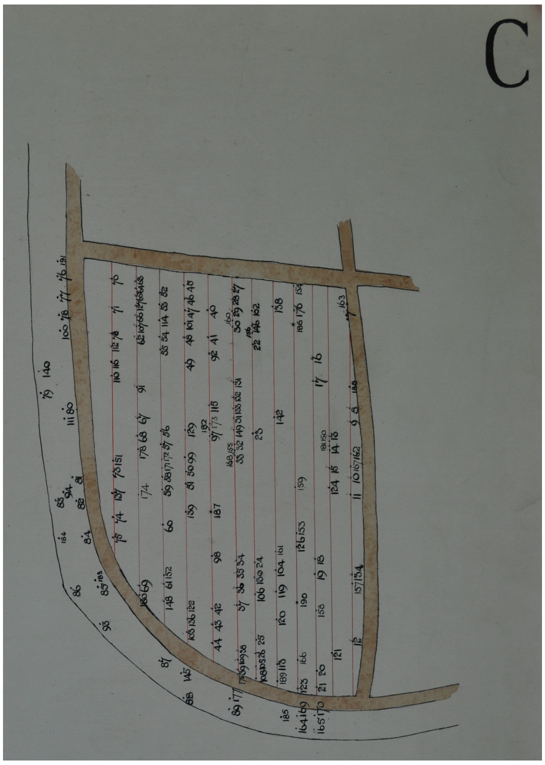


Figure 7.96 Map of compartment 'C' in Southampton Cemetery showing monuments that the local masons' firm of Garrett and Haysom had either erected or were responsible for. (GHM c.1880s courtesy of the Friends of Southampton Old Cemetery. Photograph: author, 2013.)

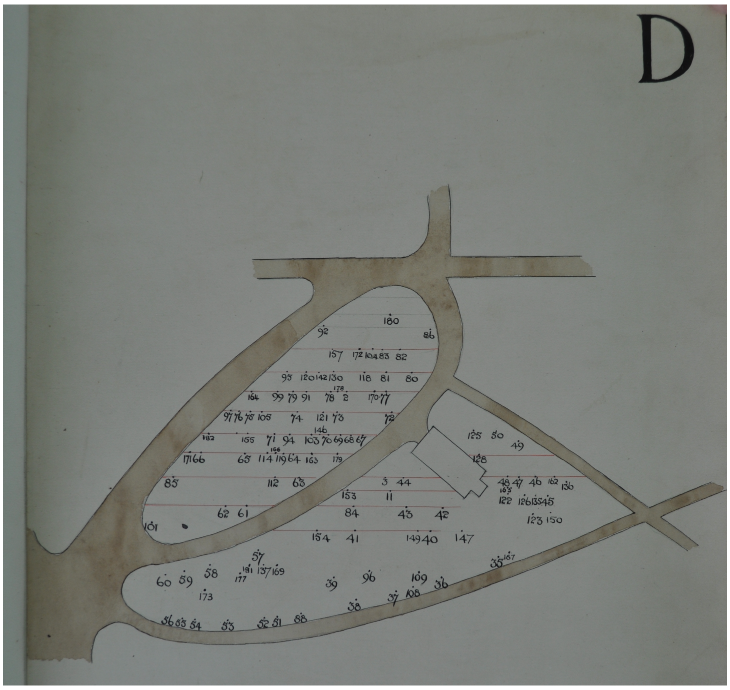


Figure 7.97 Map of compartment 'D' in Southampton Cemetery indicating the positions of monuments that the local masons' firm Garrett and Haysom had erected or worked on, dating to some time in the 1880s. (GHM c.1880s courtesy of the Friends of Southampton Old Cemetery. Photograph: author, 2013.)

Secondly, the company appears to have done quite a lot of work repairing, improving, and generally maintaining monuments and plots, sometimes subcontracting the work. For example, in the 1867 day book, it is recorded that Mr Oakley was paid for four hours' work doing "restoration Mr Gilley's obelisk 1-8, Portland & Paint 9 railing 1/0" (GHDB 28/02/1867). The frequency of this type of work, including regular painting, and the subcontracting practices, may be why the company created a map of all of their monuments in the Southampton Cemetery (see Figure 7.95, Figure 7.96, and Figure 7.97). This ongoing work indicates the potential weight of responsibility, with financial implications, that a monument could bring if the owner wished to keep it as spruce as it had been upon initial erection, with paintwork like that seen on the Black mausoleum (Figure 3.5), the Clark monument (3408, see Figure 3.4) and on the Chance monument in Birmingham Key Hill Cemetery (Figure 7.98).

Figure 7.98 Monument 6024 (Birmingham Key Hill), dedicated to Sidney Chance who died in 1858, aged 18 months. (Photograph: author, 2013.)

Chapter 8 Conclusion

The structure of this project was chosen to permit the comparison of monument use within geographically and structurally diverse sites to an extent not found in other works on 19th-century commemoration. The comparative data was collected in order to explore a number of questions regarding the usage of memorial architecture during the first decades of cemetery establishment and development. The intention was not to establish a generalised narrative of monument use or meaning, as might be expected of a broad-scale comparative work, but to attempt to unpick the different scales at which patterns of association and significance might be discernible. In doing so, it was hoped that a more varied and nuanced picture might be developed of the practices through which commemorative landscapes and the individual monuments of which they were constituted became meaningful for their users.

As was made clear in chapter two, these practices are acknowledged as involving engagement with the world of commerce, but economic value is not recognised here as either the only or the primary regime within which these materials were significant for their users. Nor are these monuments seen here as primarily relating to social status. Emphasis is placed, instead, on understanding the choice of monuments in relation to the emerging commemorative landscape at each site, and the emotional context within which memorials were used. Although stylistic variation is a key variable within this project, and the central axis along which differences in practices are considered, it is further acknowledged that the meanings that monuments had for their users were not restricted to symbolism, but could relate to their proximity to the deceased, perhaps even standing in for the lost.

This is the background against which analysis was undertaken. This analysis was based around four central questions, the first two relating to how different groups used monument forms in a variety of settings, and what these patterns of usage might indicate about the associations and significances of memorial forms in different contexts:-

- *What differences can be identified between monument groups in terms of the economic, occupational, and religious identities of their erectors, and the types of relationships that they were used to commemorate?*

- *Using these differences as a starting point, what associations and significances did monuments have for those erecting or encountering them?*

The three data-analysis chapters in this project all addressed these questions, focusing on different combinations of sites and looking at different aspects of monument usage, facilitated by the different kinds of data that were available for each cemetery. Chapter five concentrated on Bath Abbey and Southampton Cemeteries and was predominantly concerned with occupationally specific commemorative practices and the differential commemoration of specific relationships. At both sites there was evidence that the choice of monument types was sometimes related to the articulation of specific identities. In Southampton, maritime engineers were more likely than members of other occupational groups to undertake extra-familial commemoration and were more likely to use monuments containing obelisk elements than other groups. At Bath Abbey obelisks were associated both with military families and with the commemoration of wives.

These usages were, however, multi-layered and multivalent, making it impossible to claim that, in either setting, these monuments had a single straightforward significance. They cannot be identified simply as a sign of the occupational identity of the deceased, or of their relationship with surviving relatives. In Southampton Cemetery it was not just the occupation of the deceased that was being marked, but also the relationships that the profession fostered. This was further filtered through a religious lens, as extra-familial commemoration was more frequent within the unconsecrated section of the cemetery. At Bath Abbey Cemetery the multivalence of monument forms was clearly demonstrated by the association of obelisks with both uxorial commemoration and the military. Any attempt to reduce the significance of these monuments to a single set of symbolic meanings would be to conceal this complexity.

The samples from Bath and Southampton, as well as that from the Glasgow Necropolis, further indicated that the significances and associations of monuments shifted across time and were not restricted to symbolic meanings. When marine engineers' extra-familial memorials were re-used for familial commemoration, or monuments dedicated to deceased wives were re-used for their husbands and other family members, the associations of these memorials changed. There is no sense that monuments were completed once erected, or that they *meant* or *were* one thing. Rather, they were in a continuing relationship with the living, which changed as losses became more distant in time and new deaths were commemorated, creating new mourners to visit and tend the memorial. This pattern of shifting significance was also particularly discernible in the Glasgow Necropolis amongst memorials dedicated to ministers and monuments with disrupted chronologies (which were discussed in chapters six and seven). A monument that had some degree of public significance as a result of being erected by colleagues or congregations could become, after further interments, a much more private and familial memorial. Similarly, the disrupted-chronology monuments in Glasgow demonstrated that the subject(s) of commemoration was not necessarily determined by order-of-death, but could be repeatedly reconsidered and altered.

It became clear, therefore, that although the initial selection of a monument's form might, in some circumstances, resonate in specific ways with some aspect of the identity of the deceased, this did not necessarily define the subsequent usage and significance of the monument. This observation highlights a further point, which is that, although monument forms might have symbolic meanings within certain contexts, these were not necessarily primary amongst the meanings that they had for their users. It was, rather, their role in rendering the deceased present and providing a point at which the relationship with the deceased could be continued that was of central importance, and this was articulated not only through formal variation but also via inscriptions and interments.

In chapter six another aspect of the potential significance of memorial forms was explored. An association of the use of Gothic commemorative architecture with Anglican burials, and Classical memorials with Nonconformist groups has been identified elsewhere (e.g. Mytum 2002a), and it is tempting to attribute these to the broader associations of those architectural styles. However, previous studies have not compared practices in settings as geographically, topographically, and religiously diverse as those included in this project. The comparison of Bath Abbey, Southampton, Kensal Green, and

Birmingham Key Hill cemeteries suggests that there is no clear binary relationship between Nonconformist/Classical and Anglican/Gothic. Although the frequency of Gothic monuments was higher in the Anglican Bath Abbey Cemetery than in any of the other surveyed sites, there was no consistent distinction between consecrated and unconsecrated spaces in terms of the relative frequency of the surveyed Gothic and Classical monument forms. This reinforces the observation that although monument forms might have particular symbolic meanings in some settings, it is seldom possible to generalise these on a large scale. This brings us to the second pair of research questions:-

- *In comparing monument use at different sites, is it possible to differentiate between site-specific and larger-scale patterns of monument use and signification?*
- *Considering these patterns, is it possible to identify the processes and practices through which the monumental landscape was made meaningful for its constructors and users?*

Some broad generalisations can be made about monument use in all five of the surveyed sites. For example, at all sites urn monuments were more commonly used at the beginning of the period than at the end, and Gothic crosses were more frequent towards the end of the sample period than at the beginning. Aside from these broad patterns, however, it is difficult to generalise about either the overall assemblages or the specific uses of monuments within them. Even what appeared to be the most secure association (of Anglicanism with Gothic crosses, and Nonconformity with Classical monuments) emerged as a faulty binary relationship when comparing such varied sites.

Several more locally specific patterns of monument use were, however, identified within the samples. Some of these, like the use of obelisks in the commemoration of wives in Bath Abbey Cemetery, were most usefully understood as having developed within a specific commemorative landscape, through the engagement of the bereaved with the gradually emerging monumental landscape. In this case, the engagement may be seen as an effort on the part of the bereaved to identify themselves with others who had experienced similar losses. Other patterns appear to be locally specific articulations of broader practices, for example the extra-familial commemoration of marine engineers in Southampton and the use of obelisks in military burials in Bath

Abbey Cemetery. The monuments erected by mariners for their colleagues at Southampton formed part of a wider folk-tradition (Stewart 2011) but the preferential use of monuments with obelisk elements specifically is not attested elsewhere and this, along with the positioning of these monuments in relation to each other, suggests that this set of practices developed and became meaningful through the engagement of mariners with the palimpsest landscape of the cemetery. Likewise, the use of obelisks in military commemoration in Bath Abbey Cemetery resonates with the form's broader associations but is a site-specific response to these, based as much in monument erectors' engagements with the site's developing monumental body as it is in the form's use elsewhere as monuments for military figures. The interaction of monument erectors with the emerging commemorative landscape was further considered in chapter seven through the analysis of monuments with disrupted chronologies and the practice of monument-marking by masons in the Glasgow Necropolis.

Not all of the commemorative practices identified in the samples appear, however, to have developed through the engagement of monument erectors with the landscape. For example, the extra-familial commemoration of ministers in the Glasgow Necropolis was not found in the other samples, but the size of the site in comparison to the number of relevant monuments, and the diversity of the groups responsible for these, make it seem unlikely that the practice emerged through the familiarity of these congregations with the cemetery's commemorative landscape. It seems more likely that the commemoration of ministers by their congregations was a more widespread practice, especially since it was treated in contemporary accounts as an unremarkable occurrence. It is likely that this practice would be traceable in other Scottish cemeteries, but this would only be verifiable with further research.

Some practices, then, might be locally or regionally specific rather than site-specific, but the structure of this project does not permit analysis at this level. Indeed, one of the disadvantages to this selection of sites is that it provides no local points of comparison, making it impossible to assess whether particular patterns of monument use might have been common to sites within a specific city or region. This would have been useful in considering the intertwining of the developing commemorative landscape with the practices of widowers in Bath and maritime engineers in Southampton. It would also have been a useful scale at which to consider religious differentiation in monument usage. The sampled sites were selected in part to facilitate analysis of the potential impact of religious topography on the development of denominationally specific commemorative practices, but this does not appear to have had any consistent effect (as was discussed in chapter six). A local or regional set of comparisons would be informative in considering the intersection of religion and commemoration in specific areas.

Analysis of this intersection would be further aided by more in-depth research into the specific denominational ties of monument erectors in the unconsecrated burial contexts. Tracing these would be time-consuming, and the results would likely be patchy, but even incomplete coverage would permit a much more nuanced reading of the relationship between denominational identity and commemorative practices. Looking beyond the consideration of denominational variation specifically, a further addition that would enhance the scope of this project would be the inclusion of samples from churchyards opening around the same times as the already sampled cemeteries. This would make it possible to explore the extent to which the monument types and commemorative practices identified in these types of sites differed, and interrogate the distinctions drawn (and challenged, for example by Rugg [2013a]) between them.

Finally, although it would involve considerably more work, a much broader sample within the surveyed sites would permit analysis of the usage of less readily differentiable monument types, like headstones, and to compare the use of plain crosses with their Gothic counterparts. It would also be interesting to use 3D-renderings of cemetery landscapes to attempt to recreate the emergent commemorative landscapes, and the relevant vegetation. This would permit, potentially, a much more detailed analysis of the inter-visibility of monuments and the likelihood that different monument erectors were aware of specific other memorials within the landscape. Even without these additions, however, this project has illustrated that, although many monument types can be identified across a large number of sites in the middle of the 19th century, commemoration during the first decades of cemetery usage was a diverse and shifting set of practices. Furthermore, in many settings, locally specific patterns of usage and association played an important role in defining the significance of the commemorative landscape for its users.

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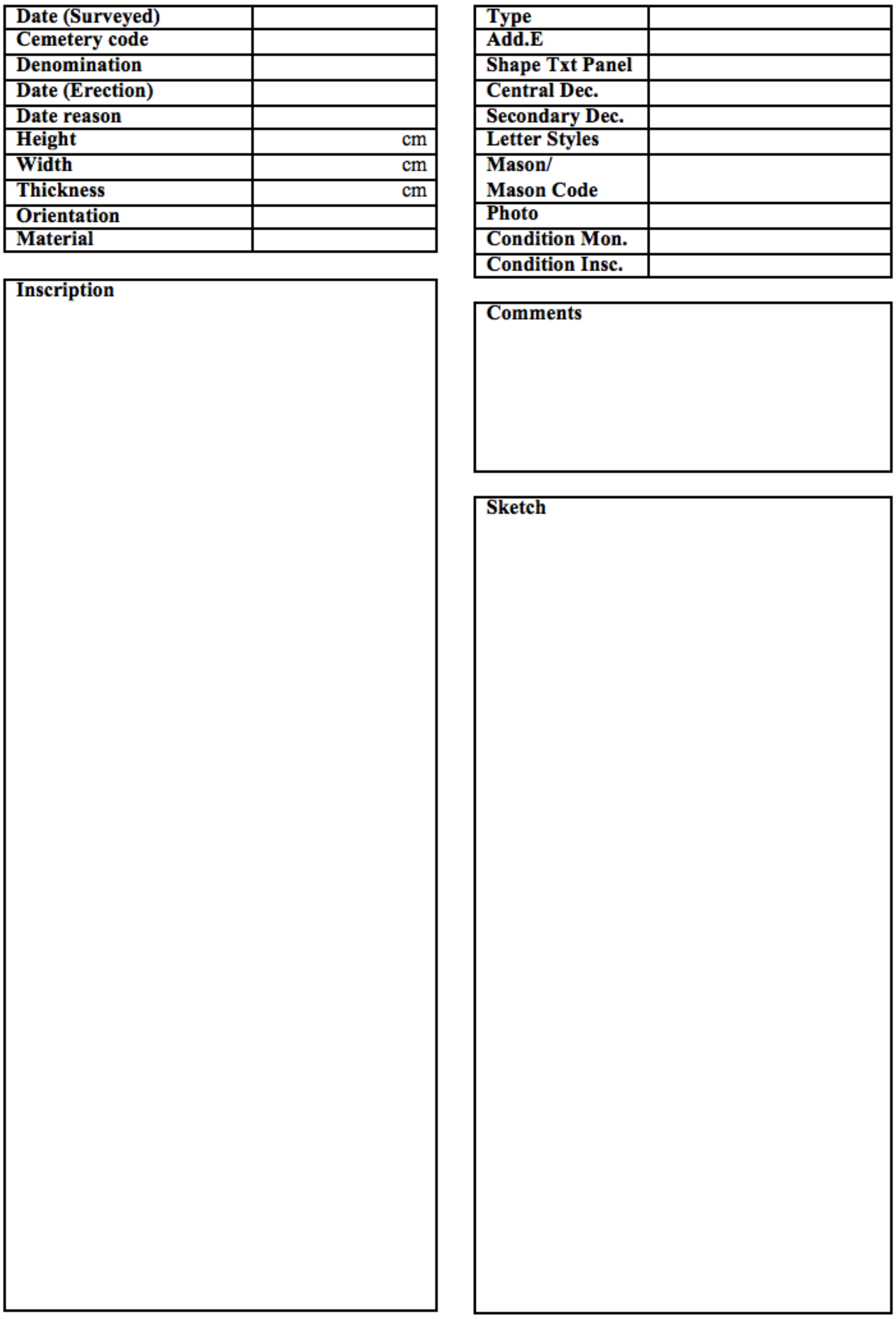
Appendices

Appendix 1: recording sheet.



Date (Surveyed)	
Cemetery code	
Denomination	
Date (Erection)	
Date reason	
Height	cm
Width	cm
Thickness	cm
Orientation	
Material	

Type	
Add.E	
Shape Txt Panel	
Central Dec.	
Secondary Dec.	
Letter Styles	
Mason/ Mason Code	
Photo	
Condition Mon.	
Condition Insc.	

Inscription

Comments

Sketch

Appendix 2: Statistical Analysis

2.1 Private Means and crosses in Bath

The null hypothesis is that there is no difference between the use of crosses by privately funded households and non-privately funded households. The exact sig. (2 sided) is 0.497, which is greater than 0.05, and the null hypothesis is therefore accepted. The null hypothesis is therefore accepted.

monument * occupation Crosstabulation

			occupation		Total
			other	private	
monument	cross	Count	15	8	23
		Expected Count	16.3	6.7	23.0
	other	Count	14	4	18
		Expected Count	12.7	5.3	18.0
Total		Count	29	12	41
		Expected Count	29.0	12.0	41.0

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.770[a]	1	.380	.497	.300
Continuity Correction[b]	.282	1	.595		
Likelihood Ratio	.782	1	.376	.497	.300
Fisher's Exact Test				.497	.300
N of Valid Cases	41				

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 5.27.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

2.2 Military Families and Obelisks in the Bath Abbey Sample

The null hypothesis is that there is no difference between the use of obelisks by military households and non-military households. The exact sig. (2 sided) is 0.035, which is less than 0.05. The null hypothesis is therefore rejected.

Occupation * Monument Crosstabulation

			Monument		Total
			obelisk	other	
Occupation	military family	Count	4	2	6
		Expected Count	1.6	4.4	6.0
	non military family	Count	6	25	31
		Expected Count	8.4	22.6	31.0
Total		Count	10	27	37
		Expected Count	10.0	27.0	37.0

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	5.705[a]	1	.017	.035	.035
Continuity Correction[b]	3.559	1	.059		
Likelihood Ratio	5.081	1	.024	.035	.035
Fisher's Exact Test				.035	.035
N of Valid Cases	37				

a. 2 cells (50.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.62.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

2.3 Military Primary Commemorative Subjects and Obelisks in the Bath Abbey Sample

The null hypothesis is that there is no difference between the use of obelisks in the commemoration of members of the military and individuals who are not members of the military. The exact sig. (2 sided) is 0.015, which is less than 0.05, and the null hypothesis is therefore rejected.

Occupation * Monument Crosstabulation

			Monument		Total
			obelisk	other	
Occupation	military subject	Count	3	0	3
		Expected Count	.8	2.2	3.0
	non military subject	Count	7	27	34
		Expected Count	9.2	24.8	34.0
Total		Count	10	27	37
		Expected Count	10.0	27.0	37.0

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	8.815[a]	1	.003	.015	.015
Continuity Correction[b]	5.248	1	.022		
Likelihood Ratio	8.606	1	.003	.015	.015
Fisher's Exact Test				.015	.015
N of Valid Cases	37				

a. 2 cells (50.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .81.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

2.4 Military Families and Obelisks in the Kensal Green Sample

The null hypothesis is that there is no difference between the use of obelisks by military households and non-military households. The exact sig. (2 sided) is 0.104, which is more than 0.05, and the null hypothesis is therefore accepted.

Monument * Occupation Crosstabulation

			Occupation		Total
			military	nonmilitary	
Monument	obelisk	Count	16	80	96
		Expected Count	11.5	84.5	96.0
	other	Count	28	243	271
		Expected Count	32.5	238.5	271.0
Total		Count	44	323	367
		Expected Count	44.0	323.0	367.0

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	2.696[a]	1	.101	.142	.075
Continuity Correction[b]	2.129	1	.145		
Likelihood Ratio	2.539	1	.111	.142	.075
Fisher's Exact Test				.104	.075
N of Valid Cases	367				

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 11.51.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

2.5 Shipping Occupations and Extra-familial Commemoration at Southampton Cemetery

The null hypothesis is that there is no difference between the rate at which extra-familial commemoration is undertaken in shipping related occupations and other occupational groups. The exact sig. (2 sided) is 0.000, which is less than 0.05, and the null hypothesis is therefore rejected.

relationship * occupation Crosstabulation

			occupation		Total
			Other	Shipping	
relationship	Extra-familial	Count	0	7	7
		Expected Count	5.0	2.0	7.0
	Familial	Count	20	1	21
		Expected Count	15.0	6.0	21.0
Total		Count	20	8	28
		Expected Count	20.0	8.0	28.0

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	23.333[a]	1	.000	.000	.000
Continuity Correction[b]	18.900	1	.000		
Likelihood Ratio	25.462	1	.000	.000	.000
Fisher's Exact Test				.000	.000
N of Valid Cases	28				

a. 1 cells (25.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2.00.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

2.6 Extra-familial and Familial Commemoration in the Consecrated and Unconsecrated Sections of Southampton Cemetery.

The null hypothesis is that there is no difference between the rate at which extra-familial commemoration is undertaken in the consecrated and unconsecrated sections of the cemetery. The exact sig. (2 sided) is 0.008, which is less than 0.05, and the null hypothesis is therefore rejected.

relationship * section Crosstabulation

			section		Total
			Cons	Uncons	
relationship	colleague	Count	2	5	7
		Expected Count	5.1	1.9	7.0
	Other	Count	19	3	22
		Expected Count	15.9	6.1	22.0
Total		Count	21	8	29
		Expected Count	21.0	8.0	29.0

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	8.879[a]	1	.003	.008	.008
Continuity Correction[b]	6.221	1	.013		
Likelihood Ratio	8.261	1	.004	.008	.008
Fisher's Exact Test				.008	.008
N of Valid Cases	29				

a. 1 cells (25.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.93.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

2.7 Extra-familial Commemoration and Obelisk use at Southampton Cemetery.

The null hypothesis is that there is no difference between the frequency with which obelisks are used in the commemoration of familial and extra-familial relationships in the Southampton Cemetery sample. The exact sig. (2 sided) is 0.026, which is less than 0.05, and the null hypothesis is therefore rejected.

relationship * monument Crosstabulation

			monument		Total
			Obelisk	Other	
relationship	Extra-familial	Count	6	1	7
		Expected Count	3.1	3.9	7.0
	Familial	Count	7	15	22
		Expected Count	9.9	12.1	22.0
Total		Count	13	16	29
		Expected Count	13.0	16.0	29.0

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	6.237[a]	1	.013	.026	.019
Continuity Correction[b]	4.248	1	.039		
Likelihood Ratio	6.628	1	.010	.026	.019
Fisher's Exact Test				.026	.019
N of Valid Cases	29				

a. 2 cells (50.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 3.14.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

2.8 Shipping Occupations and Obelisk use at Southampton Cemetery.

The null hypothesis is that there is no difference between the frequency with which obelisks are used in the commemoration of those working in shipping occupations and the commemoration of other individuals in the Southampton Cemetery sample. The exact sig. (2 sided) is 0.032, which is less than 0.05, and the null hypothesis is therefore rejected.

monument * occupation Crosstabulation

			occupation		Total
			Other	Shipping	
monument	obelisk	Count	6	6	12
		Expected Count	8.9	3.1	12.0
	Other	Count	17	2	19
		Expected Count	14.1	4.9	19.0
Total		Count	23	8	31
		Expected Count	23.0	8.0	31.0

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	5.985[a]	1	.014	.032	.022
Continuity Correction[b]	4.101	1	.043		
Likelihood Ratio	5.981	1	.014	.032	.022
Fisher's Exact Test				.032	.022
N of Valid Cases	31				

a. 2 cells (50.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 3.10.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

2.9 Obelisks and the Commemoration of Wives in the Bath Abbey Sample

The null hypothesis is that there is no difference between the frequency with which obelisks are used in the commemoration wives and the commemoration of other relationships in the Bath Abbey Cemetery sample. The exact sig. (2 sided) is 0.002, which is less than 0.05, and the null hypothesis is therefore rejected.

Relationship * Monument Crosstabulation

			Monument		
			Obelisk	Other	Total
Relationship	Other	Count	3	26	29
		Expected Count	7.3	21.8	29.0
	Wife	Count	7	4	11
		Expected Count	2.8	8.3	11.0
Total		Count	10	30	40
		Expected Count	10.0	30.0	40.0

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	12.079[a]	1	.001	.002	.002
Continuity Correction[b]	9.404	1	.002		
Likelihood Ratio	11.276	1	.001	.002	.002
Fisher's Exact Test				.002	.002
N of Valid Cases	40				

a. 1 cells (25.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2.75.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

2.10 Households supported by legal professionals and the use of Gothic crosses at Kensal Green.

The null hypothesis is that there is no difference between the frequency with which Gothic crosses are used by households supported by legal professionals and households supported by other occupations. Households for which this data was not available are excluded. The exact sig. (2 sided) is 0.005, which is less than 0.05, and the null hypothesis is therefore rejected.

occupation * monument Crosstabulation

			monument		Total
			Cross	Other	
occupation	Law	Count	10	30	40
		Expected Count	4.3	35.7	40.0
	Other	Count	26	270	296
		Expected Count	31.7	264.3	296.0
Total		Count	36	300	336
		Expected Count	36.0	300.0	336.0

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	9.686[a]	1	.002	.005	.005
Continuity Correction[b]	8.066	1	.005		
Likelihood Ratio	7.705	1	.006	.013	.005
Fisher's Exact Test				.005	.005
N of Valid Cases	336				

a. 1 cells (25.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 4.29.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

2.11 Comparison of Gothic Cross use in the consecrated and unconsecrated sections of Kensal Green.

The null hypothesis is that there is no difference between the frequency with which Gothic crosses are used, relative to the use of urns and obelisks, in the consecrated and unconsecrated sections of Kensal Green. The exact sig. (2 sided) is 1.000, which is more than 0.05, and the null hypothesis is therefore accepted.

monument * sitearea Crosstabulation

			sitearea		Total
			KGC	KGUc	
monument	Cross	Count	27	1	28
		Expected Count	26.3	1.7	28.0
	Urn/ Obelisk	Count	350	23	373
		Expected Count	350.7	22.3	373.0
Total		Count	377	24	401
		Expected Count	377.0	24.0	401.0

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.312[a]	1	.577	.717	.487
Continuity Correction[b]	.021	1	.885		
Likelihood Ratio	.358	1	.550	.717	.487
Fisher's Exact Test				1.000	.487
N of Valid Cases	401				

a. 1 cells (25.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.68.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

2.12 Comparison of Gothic cross use in the consecrated and unconsecrated sections of Southampton Cemetery.

The null hypothesis is that there is no difference between the frequency with which Gothic crosses are used, relative to the use of urns and obelisks, in the consecrated and unconsecrated sections of Southampton Cemetery. The exact sig. (2 sided) is 0.039, which is less than 0.05, and the null hypothesis is therefore rejected.

monument * sitearea Crosstabulation

			sitearea		Total
			SHC	SHUc	
monument	Cross	Count	9	0	9
		Expected Count	6.4	2.6	9.0
	Urn/ Obelisk	Count	20	12	32
		Expected Count	22.6	9.4	32.0
Total		Count	29	12	41
		Expected Count	29.0	12.0	41.0

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	4.772[a]	1	.029	.039	.029
Continuity Correction[b]	3.132	1	.077		
Likelihood Ratio	7.232	1	.007	.030	.029
Fisher's Exact Test				.039	.029
N of Valid Cases	41				

a. 1 cells (25.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2.63.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

2.13 Comparison of Gothic cross use in Kensal Green (consecrated section) and Bath Abbey.

The null hypothesis is that there is no difference between the frequency with which Gothic crosses are used, relative to the use of urns and obelisks, in the consecrated section of Kensal Green and in Bath Abbey Cemetery. The exact sig. (2 sided) is 0.000, which is less than 0.05, and the null hypothesis is therefore rejected.

monument * sitearea Crosstabulation

			sitearea		Total
			BA	KGC	
monument	Cross	Count	23	27	50
		Expected Count	4.7	45.3	50.0
	Urn/ obelisk	Count	16	350	366
		Expected Count	34.3	331.7	366.0
Total		Count	39	377	416
		Expected Count	39.0	377.0	416.0

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	89.726[a]	1	.000	.000	.000
Continuity Correction[b]	84.893	1	.000		
Likelihood Ratio	58.414	1	.000	.000	.000
Fisher's Exact Test				.000	.000
N of Valid Cases	416				

a. 1 cells (25.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 4.69.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

2.14 Comparison of Gothic cross use in the consecrated sections of Kensal Green and Southampton Old Cemeteries.

The null hypothesis is that there is no difference between the frequency with which Gothic crosses are used, relative to the use of urns and obelisks, in the consecrated sections of Kensal Green Southampton Old Cemeteries. The exact sig. (2 sided) is 0.000, which is less than 0.05, and the null hypothesis is therefore rejected.

monument * sitearea Crosstabulation

			sitearea		Total
			KGC	SHC	
monument	Cross	Count	27	9	36
		Expected Count	33.4	2.6	36.0
	Urn/ Obelisk	Count	350	20	370
		Expected Count	343.6	26.4	370.0
Total		Count	377	29	406
		Expected Count	377.0	29.0	406.0

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	18.992[a]	1	.000	.000	.000
Continuity Correction[b]	16.152	1	.000		
Likelihood Ratio	12.845	1	.000	.000	.000
Fisher's Exact Test				.000	.000
N of Valid Cases	406				

a. 1 cells (25.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2.57.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

2.15 Comparison of Gothic cross use in the unconsecrated sections of Kensal Green and Southampton Old Cemeteries.

The null hypothesis is that there is no difference between the frequency with which Gothic crosses are used, relative to the use of urns and obelisks, in the unconsecrated sections of Kensal Green Southampton Old Cemeteries. The exact sig. (2 sided) is 1.000, which is more than 0.05, and the null hypothesis is therefore accepted.

monument * sitearea Crosstabulation

			sitearea		Total
			KGUc	SHUc	
monument	Cross	Count	1	0	1
		Expected Count	.7	.3	1.0
	Urn/ Obelisk	Count	23	12	35
		Expected Count	23.3	11.7	35.0
Total		Count	24	12	36
		Expected Count	24.0	12.0	36.0

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.514[a]	1	.473	1.000	.667
Continuity Correction[b]	.000	1	1.000		
Likelihood Ratio	.825	1	.364	1.000	.667
Fisher's Exact Test				1.000	.667
N of Valid Cases	36				

a. 2 cells (50.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .33.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

2.16 Comparison of Gothic cross use in Kensal Green (unconsecrated section) and Key Hill Cemetery.

The null hypothesis is that there is no difference between the frequency with which Gothic crosses are used, relative to the use of urns and obelisks, in the unconsecrated section of Kensal Green and in Key Hill Cemetery. The exact sig. (2 sided) is 0.009, which is less than 0.05, and the null hypothesis is therefore rejected.

monument * sitearea Crosstabulation

			sitearea		Total
			KGUc	KH	
monument	Cross	Count	1	17	18
		Expected Count	5.5	12.5	18.0
	Urn/ Obelisk	Count	23	38	61
		Expected Count	18.5	42.5	61.0
Total		Count	24	55	79
		Expected Count	24.0	55.0	79.0

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	6.792[a]	1	.009	.017	.006
Continuity Correction[b]	5.357	1	.021		
Likelihood Ratio	8.458	1	.004	.009	.006
Fisher's Exact Test				.009	.006
N of Valid Cases	79				

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 5.47.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

2.17 Comparison of Gothic cross use in Southampton Cemetery (unconsecrated section) and Key Hill Cemetery.

The null hypothesis is that there is no difference between the frequency with which Gothic crosses are used, relative to the use of urns and obelisks, in the unconsecrated section of Southampton Cemetery and in Key Hill Cemetery. The exact sig. (2 sided) is 0.028, which is less than 0.05, and the null hypothesis is therefore rejected.

monument * sitearea Crosstabulation

			sitearea		Total
			KH	SHUc	
monument	Cross	Count	17	0	17
		Expected Count	14.0	3.0	17.0
	Urn/ Obelisk	Count	38	12	50
		Expected Count	41.0	9.0	50.0
Total		Count	55	12	67
		Expected Count	55.0	12.0	67.0

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	4.970[a]	1	.026	.028	.020
Continuity Correction[b]	3.472	1	.062		
Likelihood Ratio	7.876	1	.005	.021	.020
Fisher's Exact Test				.028	.020
N of Valid Cases	67				

a. 1 cells (25.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 3.04.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

2.18 Comparison of Gothic cross use in Southampton Cemetery (consecrated section) and Bath Abbey Cemetery.

The null hypothesis is that there is no difference between the frequency with which Gothic crosses are used, relative to the use of urns and obelisks, in the consecrated section of Southampton Cemetery and in Bath Abbey Cemetery. The exact sig. (2 sided) is 0.029, which is less than 0.05, and the null hypothesis is therefore rejected.

Monument Type * Site or Section Crosstabulation

			Site or Section		Total
			BA	SHc	
Monument Type	Cross	Count	23	9	32
		Expected Count	18.4	13.6	32.0
	Urn/ Obelisk	Count	16	20	36
		Expected Count	20.6	15.4	36.0
Total		Count	39	29	68
		Expected Count	39.0	29.0	68.0

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	5.212[a]	1	.022	.029	.020
Continuity Correction[b]	4.150	1	.042		
Likelihood Ratio	5.307	1	.021	.029	.020
Fisher's Exact Test				.029	.020
N of Valid Cases	68				

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 13.65.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

2.19 Comparison of Gothic cross use in Kensal Green (consecrated section) and Key Hill Cemetery.

The null hypothesis is that there is no difference between the frequency with which Gothic crosses are used, relative to the use of urns and obelisks, in the consecrated section of Kensal Green Cemetery and in Key Hill Cemetery. The exact sig. (2 sided) is 0.000, which is less than 0.05, and the null hypothesis is therefore rejected.

monument * sitearea Crosstabulation

			sitearea		Total
			KGC	KH	
monument	Cross	Count	27	17	44
		Expected Count	38.4	5.6	44.0
	Urn/ Obelisk	Count	350	38	388
		Expected Count	338.6	49.4	388.0
Total		Count	377	55	432
		Expected Count	377.0	55.0	432.0

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	29.589[a]	1	.000	.000	.000
Continuity Correction[b]	27.050	1	.000		
Likelihood Ratio	21.966	1	.000	.000	.000
Fisher's Exact Test				.000	.000
N of Valid Cases	432				

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 5.60.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

2.20 Comparison of Gothic cross use in Southampton Cemetery (consecrated section) and Key Hill Cemetery.

The null hypothesis is that there is no difference between the frequency with which Gothic crosses are used, relative to the use of urns and obelisks, in the consecrated section of Southampton Cemetery and in Key Hill Cemetery. The exact sig. (2 sided) is 1.000, which is more than 0.05, and the null hypothesis is therefore accepted.

monument * sitearea Crosstabulation

			sitearea		Total
			KH	SHC	
monument	Cross	Count	17	9	26
		Expected Count	17.0	9.0	26.0
	Urn/ Obelisk	Count	38	20	58
		Expected Count	38.0	20.0	58.0
Total		Count	55	29	84
		Expected Count	55.0	29.0	84.0

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.000[a]	1	.991	1.000	.590
Continuity Correction[b]	.000	1	1.000		
Likelihood Ratio	.000	1	.991	1.000	.590
Fisher's Exact Test				1.000	.590
N of Valid Cases	84				

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 8.98.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

2.21 Comparison of Gothic cross use in Bath Abbey and Key Hill Cemetery.

The null hypothesis is that there is no difference between the frequency with which Gothic crosses are used, relative to the use of urns and obelisks, in Bath Abbey Cemetery and in Key Hill Cemetery. The exact sig. (2 sided) is 0.011, which is less than 0.05, and the null hypothesis is therefore rejected.

monument * sitearea Crosstabulation

			sitearea		Total
			BA	KH	
monument	Cross	Count	23	17	40
		Expected Count	16.6	23.4	40.0
	Urn/ Obelisk	Count	16	38	54
		Expected Count	22.4	31.6	54.0
Total		Count	39	55	94
		Expected Count	39.0	55.0	94.0

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	7.353[a]	1	.007	.011	.006
Continuity Correction[b]	6.249	1	.012		
Likelihood Ratio	7.396	1	.007	.011	.006
Fisher's Exact Test				.011	.006
N of Valid Cases	94				

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 16.60.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

2.22 Comparison of Gothic cross use in Bath Abbey and the unconsecrated section of Southampton Cemetery.

The null hypothesis is that there is no difference between the frequency with which Gothic crosses are used, relative to the use of urns and obelisks, in Bath Abbey Cemetery and the unconsecrated section of Southampton Cemetery. The exact sig. (2 sided) is 0.000, which is less than 0.05, and the null hypothesis is therefore rejected.

Monument Type * Site or Section Crosstabulation

			Site or Section		Total
			BA	SHu	
Monument Type	Cross	Count	23	0	23
		Expected Count	17.6	5.4	23.0
	Urn/ Obelisk	Count	16	12	28
		Expected Count	21.4	6.6	28.0
Total		Count	39	12	51
		Expected Count	39.0	12.0	51.0

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	12.890[a]	1	.000	.000	.000
Continuity Correction[b]	10.618	1	.001		
Likelihood Ratio	17.408	1	.000	.000	.000
Fisher's Exact Test				.000	.000
N of Valid Cases	51				

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 5.41.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

2.23 Comparison of Gothic cross use in Bath Abbey and the unconsecrated section of Kensal Green Cemetery.

The null hypothesis is that there is no difference between the frequency with which Gothic crosses are used, relative to the use of urns and obelisks, in the unconsecrated section of Kensal Green Cemetery and in Bath Abbey Cemetery. The exact sig. (2 sided) is 0.000, which is less than 0.05, and the null hypothesis is therefore rejected.

Monument Type * Site or Section Crosstabulation

			Site or Section		Total
			BA	KGu	
Monument Type	Cross	Count	23	1	24
		Expected Count	14.9	9.1	24.0
	Other	Count	16	23	39
		Expected Count	24.1	14.9	39.0
Total		Count	39	24	63
		Expected Count	39.0	24.0	63.0

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	18.924[a]	1	.000	.000	.000
Continuity Correction[b]	16.672	1	.000		
Likelihood Ratio	22.614	1	.000	.000	.000
Fisher's Exact Test				.000	.000
N of Valid Cases	63				

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 9.14.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

2.24 Comparison of Gothic cross use in the unconsecrated section of Kensal Green and the consecrated section of Southampton Cemetery.

The null hypothesis is that there is no difference between the frequency with which Gothic crosses are used, relative to the use of urns and obelisks, in the unconsecrated section of Kensal Green Cemetery and the consecrated section of Southampton Cemetery. The exact sig. (2 sided) is 0.015, which is less than 0.05, and the null hypothesis is therefore rejected.

Monument Type * Site or Section Crosstabulation

			Site or Section		Total
			KGu	SHc	
Monument Type	Cross	Count	1	9	10
		Expected Count	4.5	5.5	10.0
	Other	Count	23	20	43
		Expected Count	19.5	23.5	43.0
Total		Count	24	29	53
		Expected Count	24.0	29.0	53.0

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	6.193[a]	1	.013	.015	.013
Continuity Correction[b]	4.562	1	.033		
Likelihood Ratio	7.098	1	.008	.015	.013
Fisher's Exact Test				.015	.013
N of Valid Cases	53				

a. 1 cells (25.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 4.53.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

2.25 Comparison of Gothic cross use in the consecrated section of Kensal Green and the unconsecrated section of Southampton Cemetery.

The null hypothesis is that there is no difference between the frequency with which Gothic crosses are used, relative to the use of urns and obelisks, in the consecrated section of Kensal Green Cemetery and the unconsecrated section of Southampton Cemetery. The exact sig. (2 sided) is 1.000, which is more than 0.05, and the null hypothesis is therefore accepted.

Monument Type * Site or Section Crosstabulation

			Site or Section		Total
			KGc	SHu	
Monument Type	Cross	Count	27	0	27
		Expected Count	26.2	.8	27.0
	Other	Count	350	12	362
		Expected Count	350.8	11.2	362.0
Total		Count	377	12	389
		Expected Count	377.0	12.0	389.0

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.924[a]	1	.337	.616	.416
Continuity Correction[b]	.148	1	.701		
Likelihood Ratio	1.755	1	.185	.459	.416
Fisher's Exact Test				1.000	.416
N of Valid Cases	389				

a. 1 cells (25.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .83.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

2.26 Comparison of extra-familial commemoration of ministers and non-ministers in the Glasgow Necropolis sample.

The null hypothesis is that there is no difference between the frequency with which ministers were commemorated beyond their families than members of other occupations. The exact sig. (2 sided) is 0.000, which is less than 0.05, and the null hypothesis is therefore rejected.

Occupation * Relationship Crosstabulation

			Relationship		Total
			Family	NotFam	
Occupation	Church	Count	10	8	18
		Expected Count	16.9	1.1	18.0
	NotChurch	Count	339	14	353
		Expected Count	332.1	20.9	353.0
Total		Count	349	22	371
		Expected Count	349.0	22.0	371.0

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	50.306[a]	1	.000	.000	.000
Continuity Correction[b]	43.311	1	.000		
Likelihood Ratio	24.440	1	.000	.000	.000
Fisher's Exact Test				.000	.000
N of Valid Cases	371				

a. 1 cells (25.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.07.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table